

# THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

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### THE SEA-BOARD SLAVE STATES.

(Resumed from our last.)

IN what light the Virginians regard Slavery, may be judged of by the extracts Mr. Olmsted gives from two Virginia newspapers. His own opinion of the probable results of Slavery to that State, if it be persisted in, and especially of its fitness as a home for a family, whilst it remains under the incubus of Slavery, is one of the most powerful protests against the system that has been uttered.

The *Richmond Examiner* and the *Richmond Enquirer* are the chief organs of those who lead the long dominant party of Virginia. They are conducted with more talent than any other journals of the State, and each receives a very much larger income from its subscribers than does any newspaper in the State which now ever distinctly admits Slavery to be an evil desirable or possible to be remedied.

From the *Richmond Enquirer*, Sept. 6, 1855.

"We are happy to find that others of our Southern contemporaries are willing to discuss(?) the true and great question of the day—*The existence of Slavery as a permanent institution in the South.*

"Every moment's additional reflection but convinces us of the absolute impregnability of the Southern position on this subject. Facts, which cannot be questioned, come thronging in support of the true doctrine—that Slavery is the best condition of the black race in this country, and that the true philanthropists should rather desire that race to remain in a state of servitude, than to become free, with the privileges of becoming

worthless. \* \* \* The Virginians need not be told that, as a class, there is not a more worthless or dissolute set of men than these free negroes. Our slaves even look upon most of them with contempt, and speak of them with a sneer. They deserve it. There are some few honourable exceptions—but, as a class, they are the most despicable characters our State contains. This is not peculiar to Virginia. In the Northern States as well as in the Southern—indeed, everywhere—this is the true state of facts; and we were not surprised, therefore, to see a free State refuse admission to the Randolph negroes. Without, then, going the length of declaring that Slavery in the abstract—Slavery everywhere—is a blessing to the labouring classes, may we not candidly and calmly, and upon the maturest and soberest reflection, say that to the black race of the Union it is a blessing, and perhaps the greatest blessing we can now confer upon them?"

From the *Richmond Examiner*, 1854.

"It is all a hallucination to suppose that we are ever going to get rid of African Slavery, or that it will ever be desirable to do so. It is a thing that we cannot do without, that is *righteous, profitable, and permanent*, and that belongs to Southern society as inherently, intricately, and durably as the white race itself. Yea, the white race will itself emigrate from the Southern States to Africa, California, or Polynesia, sooner than the African.

"Let us make up our minds, therefore, to put up with and make the most of the institution. Let us not bother our brains about what *Providence* intends to do with our

negroes in the distant future, but glory in and profit to the utmost by what he has done for them in transplanting them here, and setting them to work on our plantations. Let the politicians and planters of the South, while encouraging the 'Baptists and Methodists,' (and other denominations having a less number of votes), in Christianizing the negro, keep their slaves at hard work, under strict discipline, out of idleness and mischief, while they live; and, when they come to die, instead of sending them off to Africa, or manumitting them to a life of 'freedom,' licentiousness, and nuisance, will them over to their children, or direct them to be sold where they will be made to work hard, and be of service to their masters and to the country. True philanthropy to the negro begins, like charity, at home; and if Southern men would act as if the canopy of heaven were inscribed with a covenant, in letters of fire, *that the negro is here, and here for ever; is our property, and ours for ever; is never to be emancipated; is to be kept hard at work, and in rigid subjection all his days; and is never to go to Africa, to Polynesia, or to Yankee Land (far worse than either), they would accomplish more good for the race in five years than they boast the institution itself to have accomplished in two centuries, and cut up by the roots a set of evils and fallacies that threaten to drive the white race a wandering in the western wilderness, sooner than Cuffee will go to preach the Gospel in Guinea."*

I think these notions, if the policy of the State shall continue in accordance with them, will be proved to the satisfaction of all Northerners—all who do not trade with Virginia, at least—to be delusions, and fatal ones, before another seventy-nine years of the Republic is accomplished.

And that these papers do give a fair expression to the views and purposes of the present governing influence in Virginia, there is every reason to believe. Not of the majority of the people—they are not quite so demented yet—but of the majority of those whose monopoly of wealth and knowledge has a governing influence on a majority of the people; in a word, of those among the educated and wealthy slaveholders, whose combined patronage and talent, applied with an energy and facility for political labour, unknown to the more conscientious and liberal, is sufficient to make everybody else's interest dependent upon and subservient to their own.

There are certainly, in the State of Virginia, a very large number of voters strongly desirous, either from selfish or other motives, that the State should be freed from Slavery. I have conversed with enough myself almost to form a respectable party; and if a party for that purpose could once be thoroughly organized and equipped, and its aims well advertised, I have not the least doubt that a majority of the voters of the State would rejoice to enlist in it. But, suppose a man could have been found with the necessary audacity to offer himself as a candidate to the people on this ground, in opposition alike to the Know-Nothings, and those who, with artful absurdity, assumed the name of Democrats at the late election, there is not probably one newspaper in the State that could have afforded to support him. If there is, it is published at a manufacturing town, and within a stone's throw of a Free State, and where, consequently, there

are few, if any, resident slaveowners. If he had attempted to make the rural population acquainted with his plan, he would have had to do so, literally, by hunting them up one by one. All the ordinary means of collecting assemblages would have been denied him, or he would have been able to make use of them only at very unusual expense. The poor traders and mechanics could not generally have afforded to listen to him, much less to vote for him, because, there being no vote by ballot in Virginia, it would be immediately known; they would be denounced as Abolitionists, and, at least, the slaveholders, who are their most valued customers, would decline employing men who so opposed their interests. Under these circumstances, with all the newspapers and bar-room orators, and many of the pulpits industriously coupling the audacious candidate's purposes with every ridiculous and detestable doctrine, scheme, and "ism," to which a name has ever been fixed, it would appear, to the most conscientious and earnest opponent of Slavery, who yet gives himself the vexation and loss of remaining in the State, a perfect waste of his vote to give it to a man so evidently unable to command a general vote of any significance; and he would determine, probably, to give it where it would tell against the least objectionable of the candidates who stood some chance of being successful. If I had been a Virginian, I should have voted myself for the gasconading mountebank who was elected Governor, ambitious and expert for mischief as he certainly is, because I should have been conscientiously bound to prevent, as far as my vote would do it, the success of a party more directly opposed to Democratic principles than is that which disgraced itself by allowing him to be nominated as the exponent of its strength.

It can only be by affiliating itself with a party of great strength and success at the North, that a party opposed to the interest of the Slave stock-jobbers can get upon its legs in any Slave State. It must have a prestige of national success, to encourage the immense labour of sufficient organization for local success. Only by a resolute determination of the thinking men of the Democratic party in the Free States not to be driven from the Jeffersonian creed upon Slavery can the Democratic party in Virginia be made responsive to the wants of the common people, or otherwise than obstructive in its action to their prosperity.

#### THE FUTURE PROSPECT.

Railroads and guano seem just now to give much life and improvement to Virginia.

Railroads, badly as they are managed, must encourage activity and punctuality in the people, besides increasing the value of exports of the country through which they pass, and diminishing the cost of imports by lessening the above-sea freightage expenses. Beside which, they cannot be prevented from disseminating intelligence and stirring thought, and in this way they will do more than any school-system at present possible.

Guano not only increases the immediate crops to which it is applied very profitably, but may be made the means of rapidly and permanently restoring the fertility of exhausted soils. Where judiciously employed, as it is by most men of wealth and education, it will do much good.



where ignorantly or improvidently employed, with a thought only of immediate returns, it will probably lead to a still greater exhaustion of the soil, and lessen the real wealth of the poor farmer. Thus it would seem likely to better the wealthy and intelligent, and eventually injure the lower class. It must be added, that there is now a very strong and most judiciously conducted State Agricultural Society, and one of the best agricultural journals in the United States (the *Southern Planter*) is published at Richmond.

The Constitution of the State has been democratized lately, so that poor people may vote, but no sufficient system of instruction has been instituted; and though great promises are now made, it is probable, as I have shewn, that while Slavery lasts there never can be. The majority of the people will therefore continue to be amused and used by greedy and ambitious speculators in politics; and, unless the West is more intelligent than it has thus far shewn itself to be, the State will yet, for an indefinite time, be wholly ruled by the slaveholders, and everything else will continue, as heretofore, to be sacrificed to what they suppose to be their interests.

But, on the whole, the condition of the people has certainly improved since the Revolution, both in comfort and in intelligence: less so, very much, than in the Free States, yet very distinctly.

The diffusion of intelligence, and, with it, of wealth, is likely to be even more rapid in future, and must be expected eventually to result in a revolution and reorganization of society, with Free Trade in Labour as its corner-stone. Whether this process shall be spasmodic and bloody, or gradual and peaceful, will depend on the manner in which it is resisted. It may come this century, it may come the next. The sooner the better, if broader and more important interests are not too greatly endangered. For, if soon, Virginia might yet be the most attractive would rapidly be occupied by an ambitious and field of enterprise and industry in America, and useful labouring population—the parent of an intelligent and respectable people.

As things are, citizens of the Free States, especially needing good land on which to use their labour, with a mild climate, and other advantages available in Virginia, might, perhaps, colonize in the vicinity of railroads, or of the Ohio and its navigable tributaries, with advantage, if they could settle together in sufficient numbers to give business to various kinds of industry. Under no other circumstances can I recommend any one in the Free States to choose in Virginia a residence for a family, unless a move southward be deemed peculiarly desirable, as offering a chance to prolong life, imperiled in our harsher atmospheres.

### THE REV. DR. CHEEVER ON THE REVIVAL.

THE Rev. Dr. Cheever has preached a sermon in New York, which bears with great force on the national sin of the United States, and rebukes in forcible terms the sham-religion which ignores Slavery while moaning over every other sin. We take from it the following passage. His text was from Psalm

72nd, 4th verse: "He shall judge the poor of the people: he shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor." Having spoken of the elements of true piety, of what the "revival" demanded and what it forbade, of the nature of oppression, he proceeded to shew that the sin of Slavery, "the national sin," united and concentrated all others, and all forms of oppression. This he proved by a Concordance, from which he quoted largely, and then said:

"Personal Slavery, by God's word, and the common consent of mankind, was the greatest possible sin. Its aggravation was the making of it a domestic institution, turning the family, which God meant to be a source of happiness, into a source of woe. By the nature of Slavery, the sacred names of wife, father, mother, son, and daughter become chattelized and the expressions of value, with reference to sale or increase. This was ten thousand times worse than the disorganization of the family in savage life. We, as a nation, had consented to this guilt; we had entered into the covenant of unrighteousness. Its greatest crime was its effect upon the soul. It was impossible for a slave to be truly a Christian. The Gospel said, 'Ye are bought with a price; be ye not the servants of men, for ye are Christ's freemen.' Beneath a master, there were so many obstacles to contend with as to render it almost impossible. The Gospel said: 'If you can possibly get free, be free.' As a general rule, every man is to remain in the calling in which he is called, but Slavery is such a terrible state as to be an exception. It was clear that a revival of true piety would break up this sin. The moment the masters were converted they were constrained to grant to their slaves that which the Gospel commanded the slave to obtain, if he could. 'If thou mayst be free, use it rather.' The Christian could not read far in the word of God before he would find that Slavery was stealing. He would find that his mission was to break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free. He could not shield himself under the plea that he was living subject to the Roman law. He would find that it was one of the marks of a good man that he refused and despised oppression. He would find it proclaimed it his duty to remember them that were bond. He would find that the justification of Slavery was proof of the greatest corruptness. And why should not a revival of true religion have some effect now as then? We had the same condemnation of oppression, and of wicked laws in support of it, in God's word now, as in the days of Roman Slavery. If a merchant, after passing through a revival, used his influence in his business in favour of oppression, that shewed it to be a delusion of Satan, and not a revival of religion. We were in the midst of the most glorious revival of God's work which the world had ever seen; and people said to us, 'This is too sacred to be interrupted by broaching a subject about which there are such different opinions. You will grieve the Spirit of God.' But carry this out; apply this to every sin, and the revival would be nothing at all. But now, when God was hearing prayer, and converting men by thousands, and the windows of heaven were opened, and God's angels descending to us, this was the

time to awaken men to their duties. Furthermore, a revival of religion must not be used as a sort of wrap-rascal; as a picture of the Virgin Mary, to scare away reformers from looking into abuses; as false camp-fires, to cover the retreat of the enemy. When a whole race was dehumanized, who but the churches and the ministers of Christ were their keepers? He took the Sabbath for proclaiming the word of God against this sin, because the work was God's work, and the Sabbath was God's great day of mercy, and the appointed time for preaching the word of God against all sin. Dr. Cheever continued as follows:

"And we take this time of revival, because we confess with shame the sin of the Church, the pulpit, and the ministry, in this country, in that while, during a whole winter's session of our National Congress, the project of forcing on a Free State the iniquity of perpetual Slavery as a constitutional obligation has been under discussion, and all moral as well as political powers have been required in array against it, the Churches and the ministry have still been silent; the Word of God has been restrained, its power has not been brought to bear upon this nefarious scheme at all. The word of God has been kept almost as silent as if God himself had sent an angel with a commission to seal up its thunders under an interdict from heaven. On the most momentous and comprehensive question of right and wrong before God, of equity and iniquity, of justice and injustice, that ever came before a nation—on the question of defiance against God, and disregard to his authority, or of obedience to Him, and of righteousness and mercy to mankind—on a question of the claims of humanity, and of the oppressed, from generation to generation, and for future ages—the pulpit has been nearly dumb; and God's word, which sets the seal of God's reprobation and wrath on this iniquity, and commands us to open our mouth for those drawn to a living death beneath it, has been bound and not glorified.

"There is no possible excuse for such silence. In the Constitution so proposed to be enforced upon a Christian people, there has stood out continually, to the outrage of humanity, the shame of Christianity, and the defiance of all the sentiments and laws of freedom and of charity, the central declaration, which is the object and end of the whole scheme, that property in man is the most sacred and unassailable of all property, and that the right to such slave and its increase is to be secured for ever, as such property, to the possession of the master and owner. The word of God ought to have been made to lighten and to burn against such an enormity. The pulpit, as the Shechinah of God's holiness, the enshrinement of the Divine reprobation against such infinite sin, ought to have been clothed with robes of judgment and of supplication, and God invoked as of old for the salvation of his people, to march through the land in indignation, and to thresh such heathenism in his anger, consuming it with the spirit of his mouth and the brightness of his coming. It was a time when burning coals from his altar should have been thrown upon the nation. And it is not yet too late. God is pouring down his Spirit so as to render the scattering of such coals doubly effective. God, in pouring down his Spirit, is trying us with the

last argument of mercy He ever uses, and is throwing in the mightiest of all elements for the conquest of this tremendous evil, this terrific sin. It is a falsified, corrupted, rotten Christianity, that has taken down this iniquity of Slavery from the gallows where it was hanging as the scorn of all mankind, and has galvanized its bleaching bones, and set it up as the keeper of the Bethesda of the Gospel, the benevolent missionary agency of heaven.

This false Christianity was renewing even the slave-trade. A true Christianity must revive and resuscitate the honour of men at it. It must be cut up by the roots, by eradicating Slavery itself. If the revival was of such a nature as that if properly directed against Slavery it would abolish it, what would the Church say against infidels? The Tract Society was now attempting to avoid Slavery. They said that if they published tracts against Slavery they would not have access to the South. But God was not limited to the Tract Society for the publication of His word. He did not grant indulgence in particular sins for general obedience. What could be said of our piety if it failed of effect against so great a crime? Slavery, if endured, would destroy our religious usefulness. The example of one sin would render us familiar with other sins. His attention was recently arrested by a valuable article on the use of pain. Were no alarm given when a man was being injured, we should discover it too late to protect ourselves. A man whose nerves of sensation were paralyzed once had his foot burned at a lime-kiln, so that when he arose and attempted to walk on it, it crushed beneath him.

The Church and the ministry were the nerves of sensation to the people, and if they did not arouse the people the awakening would come too late for salvation. Debates in Conventions and platform speeches at our Anniversaries did not reach the conscience; they must be carried out from the pulpit. The Church had not done her duty. Every compromise with Slavery had been received with silence and self-contempt. From post to post the stupendous crime had strided on; the new-made graves of principle had hardly been matted with the grass of a single history before new squadrons rode over them to new victories. This was the disgraceful history of these past years of our country. God called upon them to wheel the artillery of His word into action. He had given His word and His Spirit to conquer sin. To refuse to do this was to withhold from God his right. The sin could not be conquered by political management; the word of God was the only instrument which could possibly accomplish it. If God's word could not prevail against this, what was it worth for salvation? Should the Church come to this battle, and achieve the triumph which was open to her, it would be the greatest triumph which had ever been achieved by her. Suppose that the Croton water were only brought to the Reservoir to be visited by people once a year, what would it be worth? So with the annual action in Synod or Presbytery, or Convocation, against Slavery; it was not alive. If we did not root out this sin, God would root us out. Either our repentance or our destruction was at hand. What a glorious opportunity was this for the Church to shew its genuineness. Its power had as yet been shewn only by Hahnemannian dilution. But now, tie



this sin to the mouth of Paul's and Moses's guns, and it would be blown all to pieces. If years ago our pulpit had been a line of consentaneous and living batteries against this sin it would not have walked even in the graveyards; it would have been driven from among men, and its ghost could not have been raised for a vote even in Congress. Dr. Cheever concluded by prophesying the speedy destruction of the nation in case this sin were not put away from us.

#### METHODISM AND SLAVERY.

A FIERCE discussion is going on in the *New-York Methodist Conference* on the subject of Slavery. We have already more than once pointed out to what an awful extent the American Churches are participants in the guilt of slaveholding, and we are glad therefore to record the attempts that a section of one of them is making to purge itself of its sin.

The position of the Methodist Church on Slavery since John Wesley said that "American Slavery, was the sum of all villainies," has varied considerably. The first Discipline, adopted in 1784, required members to free their slaves within twelve months, and prohibited the admission of slaveholding members, besides making it a capital offence to buy or sell slaves, or to give them away. This lasted for twenty-four years, when so much of it was repealed as related to private members. In 1836 the General Conference sent out the exceedingly pro-Slavery Pastoral Address, of which the venerable Dr. Bangs has now avowed himself the author. Preachers were tacitly allowed to hold slaves, and in 1844 only the most strenuous opposition of New England and the West prevented the ordination of a slaveholding Bishop. To-day, although the main body of slaveholding Methodists have withdrawn from the church, and established the *Methodist Episcopal Church South*, two Conferences (the Philadelphia and the Baltimore Conferences) cover territory in which are Methodist Church members owning six thousand slaves. One of these (the Baltimore Conference) passed the following resolutions in March, 1857:

Resolved, by the Baltimore Conference, in conference assembled, That we highly deprecate the agitation of the Slavery question, which has already resulted to the great detriment of the political and religious interests of the country.

Resolved, That, as heretofore, we will oppose with zeal any aggression which shall be attempted by the Abolition agitators of the country.

The struggle in the *New-York Conference* is now upon the point whether the Discipline should be altered so as to exclude slaveholders decisively, and whether the Methodist pulpit and press should be used against Slavery; in short, whether it should be considered as a sin. The *New-York Conference* has no authority in the matter, and no change can be effected until the General Conference meets in 1860. But it can manufacture

public opinion by expressing its own, and, perhaps, influence the general conduct of the Methodist press and pulpit, by shewing what sort of delegates it will send to the next General Conference, as the New-York delegation, if radically anti-Slavery, will give that side so great a preponderance in the next General Conference, that the Discipline will be altered, the sinfulness of slaveholding recognised, and editors and ministers instructed to write and preach against it.

An interesting feature in the discussion that took place on the resolutions submitted for approval was the narrative of Mr. Long, the author of *Pictures on Slavery*. Mr. Long estimates that there are 6000 slaves now owned by members of the *Methodist Episcopal Church North*—more than were owned by the whole Church, North and South, in 1845. He states that Samuel Green—a free coloured man, of Dorchester County, Md., and a local preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church—was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment last year for having in his possession a copy of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; that Dorchester County is almost exclusively a Methodist county, and the Methodists of the State could have him pardoned at any moment they might desire.

Mr. Long handed in the following advertisement, which appeared in the *Cambridge Herald* (Dorchester County, Md.) of Oct. 28, 1857:

300 DOLS. REWARD.—RAN AWAY from the subscriber, from the neighbourhood of Town Point, on Saturday night, 24th inst., my Negro Man,

AARON CORNISH,

about 35 years old. He is about five feet ten inches high, black, good-looking, rather pleasant countenance, and carries himself with a confident manner. He went off with his wife DAFFNEY, a Negro Woman belonging to Reuben E. Phillips.

I will give the above reward if taken out of the County, and 200 dols. if taken in the County; in either case to be lodged in Cambridge (Md.) Jail.

LEVI D. TRAVERSE.

Oct. 28, 1857. 3t.

The Rev. Levi D. Traverse is a local preacher belonging to the Philadelphia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Reuben E. Phillips is a brother in good standing.

The church edifice in Cambridge was built some years ago, and deeded to trustees, to be held for the Methodist Episcopal Church, so long as its discipline shall tolerate Slavery. Judge Lecompte, of Kansas notoriety, was a convert in a revival which took place in this church soon after its dedication.

The Rev. Dr. Whedon, editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, as chairman of the Committee on Slavery to the Conference, introduced the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we affirm the language of our Church in 1784, namely, that the practice of holding our fellow-creatures in slavery is con-

trary to the golden rule of God and the inalienable rights of mankind, as well as the principles of the American Revolution; and we therefore deem it our most bounden duty to take some effectual method to extirpate this abomination from among us.

Resolved, That it is the duty of our Church, as a unit, to educate her membership to the high standard of these her primitive doctrines, and to this end it is her duty to inculcate them prudently, but firmly, through her organs, whether press or pulpit.

Resolved, That, while we oppose Slavery as citizens, and give our sympathy to those who, in the State, are maintaining the cause of freedom against the Slave Power, we are especially the opponents of oppression as a *sin*, and the supporters of emancipation as the *requirement of righteousness*; and we would, therefore, remember that our anti-Slaveryism should be deeply imbued with the spirit of the holy Gospel; that it should wisely consult the honour and unity of our Church, in the full faith that the highest good will be obtained through the legitimate instrumentality of her established institutions.

Resolved, That we offer our unfeigned thanks to Almighty God, and tender our cordial congratulations to the friends of humanity, for the rapid extension of the principles of justice and freedom during the past year, as well as for the cheering prospects of the extension of free institutions in our country; and we cherish the anticipation that, with proper effort in maintaining and diffusing light and truth on the subject, all misunderstanding will disappear, and the Church will unite, as with the heart of one man, upon the ancient Wesleyan platform, and, as in the great English emancipation struggle, Methodism will be unanimous and energetic in the cause of freedom.

The discussion upon these resolutions occupied more or less of the time of the Conference, daily, for more than a week, from the 14th of April last. It appears to have been very interesting and exciting. Among the speakers on the anti-Slavery side were Dr. Whedon, Dr. Curry, Mr. Inskip, and Mr. Hatfield. Against the resolutions were Drs. Nathan and Heman Bangs, Dr. Roach, Dr. Kennedy, and Dr. Perry. "Dr. Bangs," observes the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* of the 1st of May, "the old 'war-horse' of the pro-Slavery party in the Church, whose voice was once so potential with his brethren, essayed in vain to kill the resolutions by a milk-and-water substitute. He and his confederates were both argued down and voted down. Time was when Dr. Bang's word was law unto the Methodists. In the struggles of 1835, 1836, and 1837, the flourish of his ecclesiastical cat-o'-nine-tails was sufficient to frighten into submission any poor preacher who, for the moment, so far forgot his allegiance to the Church as to give countenance to Abolitionism. Now he is powerless to resist the tide of anti-Slavery sentiment even in his own Conference; and the Book-Room, once the centre of a pro-Slavery Oligarchy, ruling the Church as it listed, is

now almost entirely in the hands of the anti-Slavery party. The resolutions adopted by the Conference are not certainly up to the highest mark, but they indicate progress in the right direction. But how deep in the mire of pro-Slavery must the Methodist Church have sunk, when resolutions like these are strenuously resisted by men who have grown grey in her service!"

As an illustration of the spread of anti-Slavery sentiment in the Methodist organization, we quote, from the same paper, the following extract:

"The anti-Slavery sentiment in the *Methodist Episcopal Church North* is waxing stronger day by day, to the great annoyance of the men through whose influence the body has hitherto been kept in a pro-Slavery position. The revelations made by the Rev. J. D. Long of the extent to which Slavery, in all its odious features, exists in the Border Conferences, are opening the eyes of honest Methodists to the true state of the case, and convincing them that the most determined and energetic efforts are necessary to extirpate the foul system from the Church of their choice. Such efforts they are determined to put forth, regardless of the blind and unscrupulous conservatism which would sacrifice the dearest interests of humanity to swell the numbers and preserve the popularity of a sect. The anti-Slavery party in the Church numbers now some of the most eloquent and influential ministers, who press the subject upon the attention of the Annual Conferences with a zeal and energy that cannot well be resisted. 'Extirpation,' so far as their own Church is concerned, is their motto, and every step they take brings them nearer to victory."

The *New-England Conference*, at its meeting lately held at Worcester, Mass., adopted a report and resolutions in advance of its former action, though not as thorough as might be wished. In the report the Conference said:

"The past year has been characterized by new and startling developments respecting the existence of slavery in our Church, and our connection as a Church with its existence there. We had been led to believe, by the repeated declarations of those whose position afforded opportunity for an acquaintance with the facts of which they spoke, that Slavery existed in our Church only to a limited extent, and that in such a form as deprived it of almost every thing objectionable in its character. But the facts brought to light in a book entitled *Pictures of Slavery*, by a minister of our Church (Rev. J. D. Long) of unimpeached character and of eminent Christian virtue, shew us that Slavery exists in our Eastern border Conferences to an alarming extent, and that it does not differ in its character in our Church from its known character out of it, and that the ministry, both local and travelling, are not so free from connection with it as we believe our discipline and the cause of righteousness require.

"The resolutions declare that 'the time has fully come when the General Conference, in the



exercise of its constitutional powers, should 'so change the chapter on Slavery as to make slaveholding a disqualification for membership in our Church.'

### THE KANSAS BILL.

In order that our readers may judge for themselves of the nature of the measure passed by Congress, respecting the admission of Kansas—a measure than which none more important has for many years occupied the attention of the American Legislative Assemblies—we reprint a copy of the Bill itself, from the *New York Tribune* of the 4th of May:

#### THE KANSAS BILL,

*As passed by both Houses of Congress, April 30, 1858.*

*Whereas*, The people of the Territory of Kansas did, by a Convention of Delegates assembled at Lecompton, on the 7th day of November, One thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven, for that purpose, form for themselves a Constitution and State Government, which Constitution is Republican; and whereas, at the same time and place, the said Convention did adopt an ordinance, which said ordinance asserts that Kansas, when admitted as a State, will have an undoubted right to tax the lands within her limits belonging to the United States, and proposes to relinquish said asserted right if certain conditions set forth in said ordinance be accepted and agreed to by the Congress of the United States; and whereas, the said Constitution and ordinance have been presented to the Congress of the United States, by order of said Convention, and admission of said Territory into the Union thereon as a State requested; and whereas, said ordinance is not acceptable to Congress, and it is desirable to ascertain whether the people of Kansas concur in the changes in said ordinance hereinafter stated, and desire admission into the Union as a State herein proposed: Therefore,

*Be it enacted, &c.*, That the State of Kansas be, and is hereby admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever, but upon the fundamental condition precedents, namely, that the question of admission with the following proposition in lieu of the ordinance framed at Lecompton be submitted to a vote of the people of Kansas, and assented to by them, or a majority of the people voting at an election to be held for that purpose, namely, that the following propositions be, and the same are hereby, offered to the people of Kansas for acceptance or rejection, which, if accepted, shall be obligatory on the United States and upon the said State of Kansas, to wit: First, that sections number sixteen and thirty-six in every township of public lands in said State, or where either of said sections, or any part thereof, has been sold or otherwise disposed of, other lands equivalent thereto, and as contiguous as may be, shall be granted to said State for the use of schools. Second, that seventy-two sections of land shall be set apart and reserved for the support of a State University, to be selected by the Governor of said State, subject to the approval of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, and to be appropriated and applied in such

manner as the Legislature of said State may prescribe for the purpose aforesaid, but for no other purpose. Third, that ten entire sections of land, to be selected by the Governor of said State, in legal subdivisions, shall be granted to said State for the purpose of completing the public buildings, or for the erection of others at the seat of Government, under the direction of the Legislature thereof. Fourth, that all salt-springs within said State, not exceeding twelve in number, with six sections of land adjoining, or as contiguous as may be to each, shall be granted to said State for its use, the same to be selected by the Governor thereof within one year after the admission of said State, and, when so selected, to be used or disposed of on such terms, conditions, and regulations as the Legislature may direct: *Provided*, That no salt-springs of land, the right whereof is now vested in any individual or individuals, or which may hereafter be confirmed or adjudged to any individual or individuals, shall by this article be granted to said State. Fifth, that five per cent. of the net proceeds of sales of all the public lands lying within said State which shall be sold by Congress after the admission of said State into the Union, after deducting all the expenses incident to the same, shall be paid to said State for the purpose of making public roads and internal improvements, as the Legislature shall direct; *Provided*, the foregoing propositions herein offered are on the condition that said State of Kansas shall never interfere with primary disposal of the lands of the United States, or with any regulation which Congress may find necessary for securing the title in said soil to *bonâ fide* purchasers thereof; and that no tax shall be imposed on lands belonging to the United States, and that in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. Sixth, and that said State shall never tax the lands of property of the United States in the State.

At the said election the voting shall be by ballot, and by indorsing on his ballot, as each voter may please, "proposition accepted" or "proposition rejected." Should a majority of the votes cast be for "proposition accepted," the President of the United States, as soon as the fact is duly made known to him, shall announce the same by proclamation; and thereafter, and without any further proceeding on the part of Congress, the admission of the State of Kansas into the Union upon an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever, shall be complete and absolute, and said State shall be entitled to one member in the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States until the next census be taken by the Federal Government; but, should a majority of the votes cast be for "proposition rejected," it shall be deemed and held that the people of Kansas do not desire admission into the Union with said Constitution under the conditions set forth in the said proposition, and in that event the people of said Territory are hereby authorized and empowered to form for themselves a Constitution and State Government, by the name of the State of Kansas, according to the Federal Constitution, and may elect delegates for that purpose whenever, and not before it is ascertained by a census duly and legally taken, that the population of said Territory equals or exceeds the ratio of representation required for a

member of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States; and whenever thereafter such delegates shall assemble in Convention, they shall first determine by a vote whether it is the wish of the people of the proposed State to be admitted into the Union at that time; and, if so, shall proceed to form a Constitution, and take all necessary steps for the establishment of a State Government, in conformity with the Federal Constitution, subject to such limitations and restrictions as to the mode and manner of its approval or ratification by the people of the proposed State as they may have prescribed by law, and shall be entitled to admission into the Union as a State under such Constitution thus fairly and legally made, with or without Slavery, as said Constitution shall prescribe.

Sect. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That for the purpose of insuring, as far as possible, that the election authorized by this act may be fair and free, the Governor, United States District Attorney, and Secretary of the Territory of Kansas, and the presiding officers of the two branches of its Legislature—namely, the President of the Council and Speaker of the House of Representatives—are hereby constituted a Board of Commissioners to carry into effect the provisions of this act, and to use all the means necessary and proper to that end. And three of them shall constitute a Board; and the Board shall have power and authority to designate and establish precincts for voting, or to adopt those already established; to cause polls to be opened at such places as it may deem proper in the respective counties and election precincts of said Territory; to appoint as judges of election, at each of the several places of voting, three discreet and respectable persons, any two of whom shall be competent to act; to require the sheriffs of the several counties, by themselves or deputies, to attend the judges at each of the places of voting, for the purpose of preserving peace and good order; or the said Board may, instead of said sheriffs and their deputies, appoint at their discretion, and in such instances as they may choose, other fit persons for the same purpose. The election hereby authorized shall continue one day only, and shall not be continued later than sundown on that day. The said Board shall appoint the day for holding said election, and the said Governor shall announce the same by proclamation; and the day shall be as early a one as is consistent with due notice thereof to the people of said Territory, subject to the provisions of this act. The said Board shall have full power to prescribe the time, manner, and places of said elections, and to direct the time and manner of the returns thereof, which returns shall be made to the said Board, whose duty it shall be to announce the result by proclamation, and the said Governor shall certify the same to the President of the United States without delay.

Sect. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That in the election thereby authorized all white male inhabitants of said Territory over the age of twenty-one years, who possess the qualifications which were required by the laws of said Territory for a legal voter at the last general election for the members of the Territorial Legislature, and none others, shall be allowed to vote; and this shall be the only qualification required to entitle the voter to the right of suffrage in said elections.

And if any person not so qualified shall vote or offer to vote, or if any person shall vote more than once at said election, or shall make or cause to be made any false, fictitious, or fraudulent returns, or shall alter or change any returns of said election, such person shall, upon conviction thereof before any court of competent jurisdiction, be kept at hard labour not less than six months, and not more than three years.

Sect. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That the members of the aforesaid Board of Commissioners, and all persons appointed by them to carry into effect the provisions of this act, shall, before entering upon their duties, take an oath to perform faithfully the duties of their respective offices; and, on failure thereof, they shall be subject to the same charges and penalties as are provided in like cases under the Territorial laws.

Sect. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That the officers mentioned in the preceding section shall receive for their services the same compensation as is given for like services under Territorial laws.

### IMPORTATIONS OF SLAVES INTO MISSISSIPPI.

VARIOUS reports have been recently circulated concerning importations of slaves from Africa into Mississippi. One of our oldest correspondents, addressing us from New York, says he cannot learn that the rumours are founded on facts. The *New Orleans Delta*, however, still continues its advocacy of the right of the Southerners to import negroes from Africa, as well as from Maryland and Virginia; and certainly, if the latter is right, the former is not less so. But both are violations of right, and therefore the *Delta's* argument, being based on an "if" which involves the whole question, falls to the ground. In the correspondence of the *New-York Tribune* we find the following, to which we append the editor's remarks:

"Vicksburg, Miss., April 8, 1858.

"It is the impression of a great many that the article in *The Delta* in relation to the landing of a cargo of Africans in Mississippi, on Pearl River, is a hoax; but such is not the fact, and the negroes, as reported by *The Delta*, were, sure enough, landed, and can be now seen by the credulous on the plantations of Messrs. H. H. Goodrum, W. S. Heyland, Col. James Glass, Col. James Allen, Thomas K. Knowland, Major L. Price, J. Wesley Fortner, and a few others, whose names I have not yet learned, undergoing a regular training, preparatory to the culture of cotton and other products in the State.

"About 140 of the number landed were marched from Pearl River to this county (Warren), and can now be seen on the plantations of the gentlemen above named. The balance were sold in the interior of the State at a handsome profit.

"The gentlemen above mentioned, as I learn from undoubted authority, have formed a joint-stock company, and have already paid in for carrying on the trade the sum of 100,000 dollars, and by the 1st of next August they expect another cargo of about 1200.



"I understand that they intend to increase the capital stock to 500,000 dollars, and that many others in this city and county are anxious to invest in it.

"They have employed an experienced man from Boston, Mass., at a salary of 10,000 dollars, to command the vessel, beside giving him an equal share of the profits. A young and likely African man will readily sell here for 1000 dollars, whereas one from Virginia or Maryland will sell for 400 dollars more.

"J. Wesley Fortner is President of the Company; H. H. Goodrum, Treasurer; and Thos. K. Knowland, Secretary. The President, J. Wesley Fortner, is the father of the scheme, and has been heard to boast that he would clear 'a cool 100,000 dollars at it before two years.'

"The above are facts, Mr. Editor, which you may rely on as being so. HILL CITY."

[The above is attested by what appears to be the name of the writer, and reads like truth, yet may be a hoax. We give it as it reaches us.—Ed.]

#### REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

THE April Number of the *Radical Abolitionist* of New York, edited by William Goodele, has the following article on the above subject:

"The removal of Judge Loring from the office of Judge of Probate, in Boston, on account of his acting as United States Commissioner in the rendition of the fugitive slave Burns, is a decided and glorious triumph for the cause of liberty in Massachusetts. Twice, previously, had the people demanded it through their State Legislature, and twice did Governor Gardner, though elected by votes of Anti-Slavery men and Abolitionists, refuse to comply. Governor Banks has been impelled by public sentiment to yield. Honour to old Massachusetts, and honour to the unflinching Abolitionists of Massachusetts for their perseverance and resolution. Our Garrisonian friends deserve special credit for the labouring oar of this achievement, and we gladly award it to them. In this they were on the right track, and have succeeded. May they always be as wise and as successful. They are proposing one good step more:

"'The next thing,' says the *Liberator*, 'is to decree that no human being shall be put on trial in this State before any tribunal, to determine whether he is the property of another; that it shall be a criminal act to institute any such suit; and that every fugitive slave shall instantly be transformed into a freeman as soon as he touches the soil of Massachusetts. No slave commissioner must be allowed to exist among us; there must be no more slave-hunts in all our borders; there must be no more fleeing to Canada to find a refuge from the pursuer: the claim of property in man, in all cases, must be resented with indignation, rejected with abhorrence, and regarded as blasphemy. And this is only saying that Massachusetts must be true to the first article of her Bill of Rights, and see that it is thoroughly executed. It reads thus:

"'Article 1. All men are born free and equal,

and have certain natural, essential, and inherent rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties, acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; and, in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness.'

"That's right, friend Garrison, exactly; and for your encouragement, let us remind you that the House of Assembly of New York, under the influence of radical Abolitionists, particularly of Gerrit Smith, who lectured on the subject in the State Capitol, came within seven votes of carrying a similar measure. Go ahead Abolitionists of Massachusetts, and see which State shall first be brought up to that standard.

"Go ahead! and remember that the same principle requires us to demand at the hands of our National Government the same protection for all the slaves in the nation. The nation, and every State embraced in it, in the exercise of its 'State Sovereignty and State rights,' has enunciated a similar and an older Bill of Rights, just as binding upon the nation and the States as the Massachusetts Bill of Rights is upon Massachusetts. Let us rise up, then, as a nation (the non slave-holding States being the majority), and insist that 'no slave commissioner,' nor slaveholder, 'must be allowed' in the nation, 'that there must be no more slave-hunts in all our borders—no more fleeing to Canada,' nor from one State to another, 'to find a refuge from the pursuer.' 'The claim to property, in all cases, must be rejected with indignation—rejected with abhorrence, and regarded as a blasphemy.' 'This is only saying that' the nation 'must be true to the first article of the Bill of Rights, and see that it is thoroughly executed.' It reads thus:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights—among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That for the security of these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

"On such a platform the great body of earnest Abolitionists might again be united. Heaven speed the day!"

#### EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS.

WE extract the following additional information from the St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Times*, dating the 3rd of May:

"A detailed programme has just been issued, regulating the labours of the committees of the nobility concerning the emancipation of the serfs.

"Three successive periods are indicated for the completion of the measure. In the first, the principles are to be established; in the second, they are to be applied to each property; in the third, a common code of laws is to be drawn up for the rural population. Six months are allowed for the preparation of the labours of the first period, in a statistical point of view. After that

delay the peasants are to obtain all the rights of other tax-paying classes. But they will remain attached to the property until they have purchased their freedom."

A letter from Königsberg, of the 27th of April, gives an account of an insurrectionary movement which lately took place among the peasants in a Russian village of Tauroggen, in consequence of an erroneous explanation given to them relative to the emancipation of the serfs. An individual named Herz Adam, coming from a distant part of the country, visited several villages on the estate of Prince Wasilchikoff, and told the peasants that their landlord required them to perform double the amount of labour permitted by the Emperor, and that they ought to demand compensation for the overwork they had accomplished. The peasants, in a body, and mounted on horseback, repaired to the castle of the Prince, from whom they demanded compensation in money for the work he had illegally compelled them to perform. The Prince told them that they should address themselves to the Government, but they persisted in their demand, and declared that they would work no more until they were paid. The Governor-General of Kowno, having been informed of these proceedings, arrived three days afterwards with two squadrons of Hussars. He listened to the complaints of the peasants, and assured them of his protection, but he could not induce them to resume their labour. He then had recourse to force, and some of the leaders were flogged with rods, others were imprisoned, and order was finally established.

A recent Number of the *St. Petersburg Gazette* publishes an Imperial decree, signed by the Emperor Alexander, establishing in the districts of Kiew, Podolia, and Volhynia, a preparatory Committee for carrying out the emancipation of the serfs in those provinces. One of the members of the local nobility is appointed President. Each Committee is to consist of two members of each district, selected from the landed proprietors designated by the head of the local administration.

The General Committee is to consist of two members of each of the three districts, selected by the landed proprietors, an experienced proprietor from each district, and one member appointed by the Minister of the Interior.

The Imperial rescript contains the following rule for the emancipation of the serfs:

"1. The proprietor retains his right of property over the whole soil, but the peasant retains the enclosure of his habitation, of which he becomes owner by redemption within a given time. Moreover, he has the use of the quantity of land necessary, according to local conditions, to assure his existence, and to provide him with the means of fulfilling his obligations toward the

State and his landlord. For the use of this land the peasant must either pay a rent, or work for his landlord.

"2. The peasants are to be classed into rural districts: the domainal police are under the proprietor.

"3. The relations which are to be established between the proprietors and the peasants must be such as to guarantee the regular payment of the taxes to the State."

Similar Imperial rescripts have been sent to the authorities of Samara, Simbirsk, and Orenburg.

The *Zeit*, of Berlin, announces that in five more government districts of Russia, namely, Orel, Woronesch, Kursk, Kasan, and Pultava, the nobility have declared themselves ready to adopt the new arrangement of the relations between master and serf, left open to their choice by the recent ukase of the Emperor Alexander. This, together with the six government districts in which the same step has already taken place, shews the movement to have already embraced the fifth part of those portions of that empire in which serfdom is still a legal institution. In fact, despatches from St. Petersburg say that nearly the whole of the Russian nobility are now in favour of emancipating the serfs.

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#### ANTI-SLAVERY CORRESPONDENCE.

##### LETTER No. 2.

SINCE I last wrote, the Lecompton Bill has passed through Congress, and it has been decided that Kansas shall be a Slave State. The Free State men, however, reject the whole thing, and prefer remaining a Territory outside the "Union," to being embraced in its protecting arms, if they must have Slavery also. What the final result will be, is matter of conjecture. The southern division of Kansas is still disturbed and distracted, and a murderous conflict is yet going on.

Your readers will remember that, at the meeting of the American Tract Society last year, a Resolution was passed that the Publishing Committee should issue "something" on the duties of masters to their slaves. This Resolution has occasioned a good deal of unpleasant feeling for many months past, the members of the Society calling on the Committee to publish, and the Committee as steadily refusing. Strong hopes were entertained that, at the Annual Meeting in May of this year, some more decided action would be taken by the Society on the point in question, so that the Publishing Committee might be compelled to act according to the spirit of the Resolution. But, to the grief and astonishment of the anti-Slavery friends, instead of doing this, the Society not only sustained the Committee in the course they pursued, but rescinded the obnoxious Resolution, and, having re-elected all the officers at the close of this memorable



meeting, they left the Society just where it stood before the subject of Slavery was agitated. At the close of the proceedings, the members who are in a minority held a meeting, at which they resolved not to separate themselves from the parent institution, on account of the active steps which had been taken, but to remain connected with it, and continually to press their object, till it shall be attained.

Last week the Boston Tract Society also held its Annual Meeting. There was a strong party who were desirous of separating from the Society in New York; but this point was not carried, a large majority being unfavourable to a separation. Language was made use of by some of the speakers which to an unpractised ear might seem extraordinary, but those who have been accustomed to hear or to read the speeches sometimes made by professed Christians, either to sustain or to palliate the system of Slavery, will not feel surprised. A Mr. Reynolds expressed his disapprobation of the proceedings in the following terms:—"I do not respect those who would take away the Gospel from four millions of slaves, if they could carry their point in relation to the three hundred thousand owners of slaves, they would not hesitate to see four millions of slaves: damned." The Rev. Mr. Occutt, of Hartford Town, informed the meeting that "two-thirds of the subscribers in Hartford sustained the New York Committee in all that they had done." A Mr. Stedman complained that "many wished to make the Society an anti-Slavery organ, an adjunct to Garrisonism." At the close of the last day's proceedings it was found that comparatively few were desirous of taking any decided action on the subject of Slavery.

In the *Christian Times* for April 17th, there is a letter on the "Religious Awakening in the United States." In one of his articles the Editor informs us that "the writer is already well known to the public as the author of *The Englishwoman in America*. In the letter alluded to occurs this passage—"The clergy of the United States" (meaning the ministers of all evangelical denominations)—"The clergy of the United States influence and form the public moral sentiment." Alas! alas! we are obliged to admit the painful and humiliating fact; and this remark, intended by the friendly writer as a warm eulogium, is in reality one of the bitterest reproach upon the subject of Slavery. It is painfully true that "the clergy *do* influence and form the public moral sentiment." Could we but see their churches in the Northern States, headed by their ministers, making an uncompromising stand against this awful iniquity, we should have hope. The friends of the slave earnestly desire that the new converts in the great "Revival," which has lately spread over the land, will enrol themselves on the side of the oppressed: of older professors of religion, they have less hope. Yet is it hardly to

be expected that these young beginners will see the necessity of immediately entering into deadly conflict with a system which their older brethren have left comparatively unassailed.

A case has just been concluded here which has excited considerable interest. A Mr. Conolly, of Cincinnati, was charged with aiding fugitive slaves, though the negroes in question were known to have been brought into Ohio by their respective masters, and therefore were really free. Judge Leavett, of this State, however, decided otherwise, and Mr. Conolly found it necessary to flee to New York: he was pursued, arrested, and brought back to Cincinnati. He was found guilty of the charge brought against him, but the penalty inflicted was very light compared with what the public were led to anticipate: the sentence being a fine of ten dollars, and imprisonment for twenty days. By the decision of Judge Leavett, with respect to the case in question, Ohio is virtually a Slave State; for if owners of slaves can bring them into the States for a few weeks, and take them back again to Slavery, they of course can do so for months and for years. It is impossible to deny, and it is vain to disguise the fact, that our Judiciary, with a *very few* exceptions indeed, is entirely subservient to the Slave Power.

The Legislature of California have passed a Bill prohibiting free negroes from entering the State, and requiring those already there "to register their names and to take out a license." Where can the poor coloured man find rest? There is great indignation throughout the country at this time respecting what is termed "the outrage committed by British vessels upon the American flag." I regret to say that such are the false ideas that prevail regarding national honour, that avowed anti-Slavery men would risk the continuance of the slave-trade rather than submit to what they consider a national disgrace. If America would sustain her own honour, by resolutely discountenancing the abuse of her national flag, as a cloak for this nefarious traffic, the offensive "search" would naturally cease. The fact, I fear, can no longer be disputed, that cargoes of negroes have frequently of late been landed in Mississippi, and there publicly sold.

A. H.

Oberlin, Ohio, June 4, 1858.

Augusta, Ga., June 3.

Lafitt and Co., of Charleston, recently applied to the Secretary of the Treasury for a clearance for a vessel bound to Africa to bring back a cargo of African emigrants. The Secretary refused the clearance, on the ground that some of the States had laws prohibiting the importation of pauper emigrants.

The above is cut from the latest telegraphic intelligence.

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1858.

### ADDRESS TO THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

THE Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have forwarded an Address to the Emperor of Russia on the proposed measure for the emancipation of the serfs, a copy of which we append. It was signed by the members of the Committee.

TO ALEXANDER THE SECOND, EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS.

MAY IT PLEASE THE EMPEROR,

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society desire respectfully to congratulate the Emperor on the auspicious commencement of his reign, and to express their thankfulness to Him who is "the Giver of every good and perfect gift," that his accession to the throne was signalized by the re-establishment of the blessing of peace, which they earnestly desire may prove solid and durable.

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have for many years perseveringly laboured to advocate and to promote, by all pacific means, both at home and abroad, the great principle of human freedom; that all men are naturally equal, and that it is a violation alike of sound reason and of the law of God, and a reflection upon the Gospel of that Redeemer who died for all, that man should assume a property in his fellow-man.

Influenced by these great truths, the hearts of the Committee have been filled with gratitude to Almighty God for the manifest evidence that it is the design of the Emperor of Russia, under the guidance of sound wisdom and enlightened Christian policy, to extend these 'inalienable rights to all his subjects, by the complete extinction of Serfdom throughout Russia.

May they be permitted to express their cordial sympathy in these wise and humane measures, and their anxiety that, in dependence on the Lord, "by whom Kings reign and Princes decree justice," no difficulties may divert the Emperor from these noble efforts for the real prosperity and happiness of millions of his subjects, as well as for the development and consolidation of the resources of his vast empire.

They would assure the Emperor of their conviction that the blessing of the Lord will attend his endeavours for the freedom of all classes of his people, as well as for the extension amongst them of Christian education, which shall enable them to estimate its real value; and that this course will secure for him that solid and permanent glory which war and conquest, with their inevitable crimes and miseries, can never bestow; and they would, in conclusion, commend the Emperor and all the Imperial Family to the care and keeping of Him "whose tender mercies are over all his works;" and whose high and holy command it is, "to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke."

27, New Broad Street, London.

7th May, 1858.

## THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

THE Society of Friends recently addressed the following Memorial to the Emperor of the French on the subject of the African slave-trade. A deputation of that body, comprising Josiah Forster, John Morland, and Robert Charlton, went to Paris to present it, but they were not able to obtain a personal interview. The document was left in the hands of Count Walewski to be presented to the Emperor, and information was subsequently received that this was done:

"TO NAPOLEON III., EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

"MAY IT PLEASE THE EMPEROR,—

"In the name of the religious Society of Friends in Great Britain, we ask leave respectfully to plead with the Emperor in relation to a cause which for many years has engaged its attention as a Christian body,—we allude to those painfully-interesting subjects, the slave-trade and Slavery.

"After the declaration of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, that the slave-trade is a scourge which desolates Africa, degrades Europe, and afflicts humanity, we need not further dwell on its character. It is a traffic which France, in common with other European nations, has utterly condemned.

"We have heard with deep concern that the natives of Africa have been recently shipped for the French colonies in the West Indies, for the purpose of cultivating the soil. It is alleged that they went as free emigrants, but so long as the African kings and chieftains regard their subjects as their property, and treat them as such, these poor uninstructed people cannot possibly be in a position to enter into any voluntary contracts; and, whatever arrangements be made for their protection, past experience has clearly proved that all precautionary measures will be unavailing.

"A comparison of the miseries and desolations which in past days the slave-trade occasioned in Africa, with that peaceful and legitimate commerce in the productions of the country which, until a recent period, was steadily advancing, ought surely to prevent the adoption of any measure that might possibly lead to the renewal of the traffic in man.

"But how lamentable is the fact, that already, in the prospect of a renewal of this traffic, and in order to make way for it, at least one powerful native chieftain has actually proclaimed the suspension of all legitimate commerce; and that extensive preparations for war are being made in other districts from which slaves are brought.

"Were the emancipated negroes treated with justice and kindness by their employers, adequately remunerated for their work, and their



wages punctually paid, there would, we believe, be little, if any, deficiency of labourers in the West-Indian colonies. But even were this not the case—were the supply wholly inadequate to the demand—it would afford no justification of a cause altogether opposed to the eternal principles of righteousness, mercy, and truth.

“Deeply impressed with the enormity and the sinfulness, in the sight of God, of buying and selling our fellow-men, and treating them as the beasts that perish, we do earnestly entreat the Emperor of the French so to exercise the power intrusted to him that no proceedings on the part of the French Government may in future open the way for a revival of this trade in human beings; that all attempts to introduce into the colonies of France natives of Africa, under the name of free emigrants, may henceforth be absolutely prohibited.

“Permit us, in conclusion, to express our Christian desires for the present and eternal welfare of the Emperor; that his power may be exercised in righteousness and mercy; and that, asking wisdom from above, he may, in this and all other important measures, be enabled so to act under its guidance, that the Divine blessing may rest upon that great empire over which he reigns.

“Signed on behalf and by direction of a Meeting representing the Religious Society of Friends, held in London this 5th day of 2d month, 1858, by

“ROBERT FORSTER, Clerk.”

#### A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE CRUIZER SYSTEM.

THE recent discussions in Parliament on the subject of the slave-trade, cannot fail to open the eyes of the community to the evils of the system at present in operation for its suppression. In the first place, it is costly; in the second, it is mischievous; in the third, it is ineffective. For the last forty years, this country has expended not less than one million pounds, sterling, annually in its attempts to put down a traffic which the whole of the civilized powers of Europe have united in condemning; which they have bound themselves, by treaty, to co-operate with Great Britain in extinguishing; and which all of them, save Spain, have relinquished. Indeed, we doubt whether one million a year would cover the whole cost, if every item of the expenditure were accurately ascertained. It will, therefore, not be denied that we have paid, and are still paying, heavily enough for our philanthropy. Nevertheless, even this expenditure would be justifiable, if it could be shewn that it were accomplishing its object. But the recent difficulties in which we have been involved with the United States, arising out of the exercise of a right we have assumed, and

which the highest civil authorities unanimously condemn as illegal, prove that the coercive system is extremely mischievous, while the activity of the traffic in slaves to Cuba, leaves no room to doubt that it is practically useless. The augmentation of the naval force in the Cuban waters, was determined upon, as Lord Palmerston informed the House, in deference to the frequently expressed wishes of Parliament, and to the solicitations of repeated deputations to members of the late Government, urging that course. Yet it must have been obvious that no effectual blockade of two thousand miles of coast could be carried out. The experiment had been already tried on the Brazilian seaboard, but it had to be abandoned. The failure was complete. The increased risk only sharpened the wits of the slave-traders, and augmented their profits; for though they found little difficulty in evading the cruisers, they made the difficulty real, and pleaded it as a set-off against the higher prices they demanded. Nor so long as Brazil was resolved to have slaves, did the cruisers on the West Coast of Africa interfere materially with the supply; and it may be safely predicted, that so long as Spain does not make an honest effort to suppress the slave-trade to Cuba, the presence of any number of cruisers on the Western - African seaboard will not interfere greatly with the operation of the traders. It cannot be denied that they effect occasional captures, and whenever they can get in, do prevent the embarkation of slaves; but these operations do not materially affect the villainous trade. Even the Rev. Dr. Livingstone—who attributes its cessation from the Portuguese possessions to the activity of the cruisers—admits that they did, in fact, only force it further north, into other localities; and his admission finds its justification in the numbers of negroes which are annually landed in Cuba, in spite of the vigilance of the coast squadron. The failure of the cruiser system, as a means of extinguishing the slave-trade, rests therefore on testimony that cannot be set aside. If, however, any were required, we would refer to the minutes of evidence taken before the Lord's Committee on the Slave-trade, some ten or twelve years since, and to those of Mr. Hume's Committee. The former left the members of the Committee in such doubt what measures they should recommend to render the squadron more effective, that they deemed it advisable to make none. They left the subject where it was, and all that the country gained, was the intimation—as set forth in the Report—that whilst the presence of the cruisers had checked the trade in slaves, it had not had the effect of materially diminishing it.

We submit that the primary object of the system now in use, with its expensive

machinery of mixed Commission Courts that do nothing, and Vice-Admiralty Courts that do very little, was the suppression of the slave-trade; and that any thing short of this is failure. We point to Brazil, and say, that when the local authorities determined upon adopting the necessary steps to put down the traffic it ceased: not till then. We point to Cuba, and say, that the authorities there are not disposed to follow the example of Brazil, and the importations of negroes average from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand a year. Yet the squadron has been augmented in the Cuban waters, and has not been diminished on the African coast. In fact, so little are the naval officers employed in the latter service, aware of the real state of things, that we find them writing to the Government, to the effect that the traffic is rapidly becoming extinct. Of course, judging of its activity by the number of captures they make, they are likely to be led into this very pardonable error.

The question is, what is going to be done in furtherance of the anti-slave-trade policy to which not England alone, but the whole of the civilized powers of the world stand committed? The delinquent is Spain, and she must be dealt with. We deny that to require her to fulfil her treaty obligations would be—as has been asserted—an interference with her. We deny, too, that the crusade of Great Britain against the slave-trade has been in any sense an interference with the rights of other nations. To assert that it is, is to advance a most dangerous doctrine. The Congress of Vienna committed itself to a decided anti-slave-trade policy, and every treaty and convention that has since been framed, has been in accordance with the declaration then made, and with the principles then laid down. We do not believe the civilized Powers of the world are going to adopt a retrogressive policy in relation to this great evil. Is it to be imagined they would commit so egregious a political blunder, and so grossly stultify themselves, to oblige Spain? They resolved that the traffic in slaves should be suppressed. They have consistently acted upon that resolution, and their efforts have been crowned with a success which only needs to be complete, that Spain should be honest in carrying out the policy to which she, too, is committed. Will it be said there is no mode of dealing with a nation which, in relation to the civilized Powers of the world, stands in the position of a criminal delinquent, and to Great Britain, in that of a perjured one? Why cannot a united remonstrance from them all, be made without delay, followed up, if need be, by an intimation that unless she at once abolish the slave-trade the products of her colonies shall not be allowed to enter the European markets. Such a course would be striking at the very

core of the evil. Cuba imports negroes for the purpose of growing and manufacturing sugar. So long as she can obtain fresh slaves, she finds it profitable to kill them off in about seven years by excessive work. For the produce of their blood she finds a ready market in Europe. In England alone the importations of Cuban sugar, average nearly two-fifths of all that we obtain from our West-India colonies. But if the markets of the world were closed against them, until the slave-traffic to Cuba were abolished, it would no longer be profitable for Spain to continue it, and in a very few months we should hear that the local authorities had found it to their interest to bow to the decision of the European Powers. Great Britain has no right to coerce any other nation into honesty: her own hands are not clean, and her moral influence is thereby greatly weakened. But she can adopt a line of policy far more effectual, if she be really honest in her desire to see the trade in slaves extinguished; and we make bold to assert, that were she to set the example of prohibition, the community would not pay so much, in the increased price of the sugar it consumes, as it is now paying in additional taxation, to maintain the present costly system.

#### ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS.

WE have, from time to time, kept our readers informed of the progress of the measures for the abolition of Slavery contemplated by the Portuguese Government. For many years they remained in embryo, but in May, 1856, we gave an outline of the Bill which had been presented to the Chamber of Deputies by the Viscount D'Athognia, and due notice of which was courteously forwarded to me by Viscount Sa de Bandeira. On the 14th of June, in that year, the Chambers adopted a Bill for the eventual abolition of Slavery in the district of Ambriz, and in the adjacent territories of Cabinda and Molembo, on the West Coast of Africa. On the 27th of the same month, the Chamber of Peers passed the same Bill; and we now give, from the last Slave-trade Papers that have been published, the details of this and of other measures passed subsequently for the extinction of Slavery throughout the transmarine possessions of Portugal. If the intelligence appears to come late, the fault lies with the Foreign Office, which has a chronic disposition to keep back information until it is really almost valueless.

*Law liberating Slaves belonging to the State and of certain Corporations.*

Dom Peter, by the grace of God, King of Portugal and the Algarves, &c.



We hereby make known to all our subjects that the General Cortes have decreed, and we confirm, the following Law:

Article 1. The Decree of the 14th December, 1854, containing measures for effecting the liberation of slaves in the transmarine provinces, and for affording protection to these and to the liberated negroes, is hereby confirmed, with the alterations set down in the following articles.

Art. 2. Besides the slaves belonging to the State, to whom liberty was granted by virtue of the section of Article 6 of the said Decree, those belonging to the Municipal Chambers and to charitable institutions ("misericordias") are also free from the date of the official publication of this law in the respective provinces.

Art. 3. Such slaves as may obtain their liberty by virtue of the provisions of the preceding Article, and of the section of Article 6 of the above-mentioned Decree, are bound to serve the State or the corporation to which they lately belonged, in the manner and for the period stipulated by the Regulations of 25th October, 1853.

Art. 4. The stipulations contained in the sections of Articles 6 and 29 of the said Decree of the 14th December, 1854, are by the present law specified and extended, and all legislative enactments to the contrary are by the same revoked.

We therefore order all the authorities whom the knowledge and execution of the Law may concern, to carry it out and to cause it to be carried out and observed fully as therein expressed. The Minister and Secretary of State for Marine and Colonial Affairs shall cause it to be printed and published, and made public.

Given at the Palace of the Necessidades, 30th of June, 1856.

(Signed) KING.

(Countersigned) VISCOUNT SA DA BANDEIRA.

*Law abolishing Slavery in certain Territories of the Province of Angola.*

Dom Peter, by the grace of God King of Portugal and the Algarves, &c.

We hereby make known to all our subjects that the General Cortes have decreed, and we confirm, the following Law:

Article 1. The condition of Slavery is hereby abolished in the following territories of the Province of Angola—

(1.) In the district of Ambriz, from the River Lifune to the River Zaire.

(2.) In the territories of Cabinda and Molembo.

Art. 2. This law shall come into execution, in the district of Ambriz, at the expiration of six months from the date of this publication in the "Boletini Official" of Angola; and in the other territories mentioned in the preceding Article, six months from the establishment in each, by the Government of administrative and military authorities.

Art. 3. All legislative enactments to the contrary are hereby revoked.

We therefore command all the authorities to whom the knowledge and execution of the above Law appertains, to carry it out, and cause it to be carried out and observed fully, as therein contained. The Minister and Secretary of State for

Marine and Colonial Affairs shall cause it to be printed, published, and circulated.

Given at the Palace of Necessidades, on 5th July, 1856.

(Signed) KING.

(Countersigned) VISCOUNT SA DA BANDEIRA.

*Law liberating Slaves upon entering into the Kingdom of Portugal.*

Article 1. All slaves embarked on board of Portuguese vessels become free on entering any port or anchorage of the Kingdom of Portugal, or of the Archipelagoes of Madeira and the Azores.

Art. 2. All slaves belonging to foreigners shall become equally free on landing in any of the Portuguese territories above mentioned.

3. With regard to such slaves as, although they have become free by virtue of the provisions of the preceding Articles, will have to be given up to the commanders of the vessels to which they belong, the provisions of treaties entered into with foreign nations shall be observed.

Art. 3. The provisions of the preceding Articles are applicable to slaves entering the Kingdom of Portugal by the frontier.

Art. 4. The stipulations contained in the two first Articles shall come into execution six months from the date of the publication of the Law in the "Diario do Governo."

Art. 5. The stipulations of Articles 1 and 2 of this Law shall be observed in the territories forming the States of India, and in the city of Macao and its dependencies. The period treated of in Article 4 shall be extended to one year from these territories.

Art. 6. The Alvara of the 10th March, 1800, and all other legislative enactments to the contrary, are hereby revoked.

*Instruction to the Governor of Macao respecting the Extinction of Slavery.*

His Majesty the King having been made acquainted with the despatch from the Governor of the Province of Macao, Timor, and Solor, dated 7th May last, which inclosed a copy of the despatch addressed to him by the Board of Guardians of Slaves and Liberated Negroes, representing the impossibility, or rather the uselessness, of applying to them the provisions of the Decree of the 14th December, 1854; and his Majesty observing from what is set forth by the said Board, and confirmed by the Governor in his despatch, that Slavery may be considered extinct at Macao, and that the few individuals still registered as slaves and liberated negroes, can hardly be termed such, inasmuch as they remain voluntarily with their masters as household servants, owing to their ignorance of a mechanical trade, and to their being almost all of an advanced age; from which circumstance the inference may be drawn that, without inconvenience or loss to the masters of those so-called slaves, but rather with their goodwill, and with much credit to their sentiments of humanity, Slavery might be declared extinct in the city of Macao *de jure*, as happily it is already *de facto*, thus obtaining the honour of being the first of the Portuguese Colonies where this great principle of civilization was proclaimed. His August Majesty commands, through the Marine and Colonial

Department, that the said Governor, in presenting these views to the Colonial Government in Council, shall give information through the same department as to whether they can be carried out, and as to the best method for so doing.

Palace, July 25th 1856.

(Signed) VISCOUNT DE SA DA BANDEIRA.

*Law providing for Freedom of Children of Female Slaves in the Transmarine Provinces of Portugal.*

Dom Peter, by the grace of God, King of Portugal and the Algarves, &c.

We hereby make known to all our subjects that the General Cortes have decreed, and we confirm, the following Law :

Article 1. The children of female slaves born in the Transmarine Provinces subsequently to the publication of this Law, shall be considered free.

Art. 2. The children of female slaves mentioned in the preceding Article are bound to serve their mothers' masters gratuitously up to the age of twenty years.

Art. 3. The owners of female slaves are bound to provide for the board and education of such children as are born of them subsequently to the publication of this Law, during the whole period of their gratuitous service.

Art. 4. The service of the children of females, as specified in Article 2, shall cease whenever the person having a right to such service shall be compensated, either for the value of the remaining period of service according to the said Article, or for the expenses incurred for board and education as provided by the previous Article.

§. The Government, in concert with the Colonial Board, shall take such measures and frame such regulations as may be found necessary for determining the mode of compensation in such cases as may demand it, and with reference to the local circumstances, and to the different manners and customs.

Art. 5. In sales or transfer of female slaves, either made by contract during lifetime, by testamentary dispositions, or by right of succession, the children of such slaves declared free by virtue of this Law, and not exceeding seven years of age, shall always accompany their mothers.

Art. 6. The children of female slaves not exceeding the age of four years shall be delivered up to their mothers when the latter obtain their liberty, provided they wish to take them, and in that case the engagements contained in Articles 2 and 3 of this Law shall cease.

Art. 7. The owners of female slaves are also bound to maintain the children of the daughters of such slaves, provided that the mothers respectively are entitled to their maintenance, as specified in Article 3 of this Law. This engagement, however, on the part of the owners, shall cease as soon their right to the gratuitous service of the mothers of such children ceases.

Art. 8. The Board of Guardians for slaves shall see that the provisions of this Law are faithfully carried out.

Art. 9. The Government are hereby authorized to create any establishments or associations, and to make the necessary outlay, in order to

afford due protection to the children of female slaves mentioned in Article 1, as well as to the effect that this Law may be fully and promptly executed.

Art. 10. All Legislative enactments to the contrary are hereby revoked.

We therefore command all the authorities to whom the knowledge and execution of the said Law may apply, to carry it out, and to cause it to be carried out and observed as fully as contained therein.

The Secretary of State for Marine and Colonial Affairs shall cause it to be printed, published, and circulated.

Given at the Palace of Cintra, on the 24th July, 1856.

(Signed) KING.

(Countersigned) VISCOUNT SA DA BANDEIRA.

*Law providing for Freedom of Slaves belonging to Churches in the Dominions of Portugal.*

Dom Peter, by the grace of God, &c.

We hereby make known to all our subjects that the General Cortes have decreed, and we confirm, the following Law :

Article 1. The provision contained in the single § to Article 6, cap. 2, of the Decree of 14th December, 1854, is made extensive to slaves belonging to churches.

Art. 2. The provisions contained in Article 29 and its §, of the said Decree of 14th December, 1854, are applicable to the slaves mentioned in the preceding Article.

Art. 3. All Legislative enactments to the contrary are hereby revoked.

We therefore command all the authorities to whom the knowledge and execution of the said Law may apply, to carry it out, and cause it to be carried out and observed as fully as therein specified. The Secretary of State for Marine and Colonial Affairs shall cause it to be printed, published, and circulated.

Given at the Palace at Cintra, on 25th July, 1856.

(Signed) KING.

(Countersigned) VISCOUNT SA DA BANDEIRA.

*Law providing for Liberation of Slaves on entering the Kingdom of Portugal.*

Dom Peter, by the grace of God, &c.

We make known to all our subjects that the General Cortes have decreed, and we confirm, the following Law :

Article 1. All slaves shipped on board Portuguese vessels, on entering any port or anchorage of the Kingdom of Portugal, or of the Archipelagoes of Madeira and of the Azores, shall be considered as free.

Art. 2. All slaves belonging to foreigners, and landing in the above-mentioned Portuguese territories, shall also be considered free.

Single §. With regard to the claims made for the delivery of individuals comprehended in the two preceding Articles, to the commanders of their respective ships, the stipulations of existing treaties shall be observed.

Art. 3. The provisions contained in the preceding Articles are applicable to slaves entering the Kingdom of Portugal by the frontier.



Art. 4. The provisions contained in the two first Articles shall come into execution six months from the publication of this Law in the "Diario do Governo."

Art. 5. The provisions of Articles 1 and 2 of this Law shall be observed in the territories forming the Indian State, and in the city of Macao and its dependencies. The term mentioned in Article 4 shall be extended to one year for these territories.

Art. 6. The Alvara of 10th March 1800, and all legislative enactments to the contrary, are hereby revoked.

We therefore command all the authorities, &c.

Given at the Palace of Cintra, August 18th, 1856.

(Signed) KING.

(Countersigned)

MARQUIS DE LOULE.

JULIO GOMES DE SILVA SANCHEZ.

VISCONDE DE SA DA BANDEIRA.

#### Portaria.

His Majesty the King having seen the despatch of the Governor-General of the Indian States, dated the 2nd of July last, in which he transmits a list of the slaves existing in those States, and registered in accordance with Article 3 of the Decree of the 14th December, 1854, declaring that these slaves, although by right they may be considered as such, yet, in point of fact, they are not slaves, inasmuch as their masters do not prevent them from going wheresoever they please; it appearing from this declaration that, without loss or inconvenience to the masters of those so-named slaves, Slavery might be considered extinct *de jure*, as happily it is already extinct *de facto*, in the Portuguese possessions in India; His Majesty commands that the Marine and Colonial Department shall give instruction to the said Governor-General to lay before the Local Council this suggestion, and to report as to whether it can be carried out, and also the best method for so doing.

Palace, August 25, 1856.

(Signed) SA DA BANDEIRA.

#### THE LONDON COTTON PLANT.

THE above is the odd title which has been given to a new fortnightly publication, issued with the view of disseminating in England the doctrines and opinions of the planters of the Southern States of North America. The following is the programme of the proprietors:

"The cotton interests will of course receive especial attention, and be, so to speak, the speciality of this journal. The question of negro labour, in its relation to tropical civilization and the necessities of European industry, will be investigated from that point of view upon which rests the labour system of Brazil and the Southern States of America. Conscious of the strength and truth of our principles, we are quite prepared to subject them to the severe test of European discussion, and to oppose, upon the broad ground of civilization and humanity, the free-negro theory of Wilberforce, Brougham, and Clarkson.

"Avowing our utter detestation of Slavery in

any form whatever, we hold that negro servitude to the white man is not human slavery, but the normal condition of the inferior race, and his natural relation in life. We hold that the negro is an inferior and specifically different MAN, and can only be Christianized and civilized through daily contact with the superior race; that he must of necessity, by an organized system of labour, take a self-sustaining part in his own progress and improvement, and is utterly incapable, as now constituted, of self-government, self-Christianity, or self-civilization. While we shall bring to the illustration of this philosophy the evidences of science and the clear deduction of well-fortified reason, we trust to maintain the argument with dignity and decorum, and a just regard for the prejudices and feelings of others."

It is scarcely credible that there should be found, at the present day, a number of persons sufficiently fool-hardy to invest capital in a publication, the purpose of which is to attempt to undermine the anti-Slavery sentiment of the people. Still more surprising is it, that men of education should seriously propose to convince us that "there is a distinction between 'negro servitude' and 'Slavery,'" and that, in the interests of "civilization and humanity," it is necessary to overthrow "the free-negro theory of Wilberforce, Brougham, and Clarkson." Such hallucinations can only dwell in the brain of American slaveholders, who, misled by the tone of the *Times*, on the question of the slave-trade and Slavery, fancy that because it is imbued with a pro-Slavery spirit, therefore the heart of the nation is affected with the same canker. We venture to predict, however, that they will soon be dispelled, for it is monstrous simplicity to imagine that a pro-Slavery Journal will find in Great Britain any thing like an adequate list of subscribers, or that degree of favour for its doctrines which will encourage the proprietors to continue, for any length of time, a losing game. If, however, the novelty of the attempt prove attractive, and the proprietors carry out their proposed intention of discussing what they call "American philosophy," that is, the pro-Slavery theory, fairly and dispassionately, and if they will only give facts as well as arguments, the result must be immensely in favour of emancipation and of free-labour.

We should here take leave, for the present, of this publication, but feel we ought not to do so without adverting to the striking article in it, entitled "Free-Negroism *versus* Free-Trade." We do not believe that the Editor can prove the two to be "opposing principles," and we challenge him to make the attempt. Free-trade, as it has unfortunately been interpreted in this country by a large section of the Manchester school, is, indeed, the best friend of the slaveholder everywhere, and therefore cannot but be antagonistic in its operation to the interests of

the free negro. In this sense, perhaps, are free-trade and free-negroism in opposition. If, however, the free-traders, as a body, were consistent in the application of their principles, free-trade and free-negroism would go hand in hand, and Slavery to the wall. The slave-system of the Southern States of the American Republic is a huge monopoly of stolen labour, based upon brute force. But free-trade is opposed to monopoly: hence there is no escape from the severe logic of these premises, that free-trade is opposed to Slavery, and therefore is stultifying itself when it admits the products of a labour monopoly into our markets. We quote a passage from the article we have been commenting upon, but though we coincide in the view taken by the Editor, we fear the so-called "free-trade" in England is really "stronger than its free-negro sentiment." The rebuke administered by the advocates of Slavery is severe, but merited, and we only wish the pro-Slavery party would unite to force it upon the attention of the cotton-ocracy of Great Britain.

The Editor is of opinion that a new anti-Slavery battle has to be fought in England, and that the issue will be, "either the entire abandonment of the free-negro policy, or a blow, decisive and effectual, at that demand in Europe for slave-grown products which makes Slavery profitable." He continues:

"A tariff prohibiting the importation of slave-grown products, and encouraging the product of free-labour, is the inevitable consequence. If public opinion governs England, and that public opinion is actually, sincerely, and conscientiously opposed to negro servitude, the result, however postponed, is just as certain as that a Conservative district returns a Conservative Member of Parliament, and a Whig district a Whig Member. There is but one escape from the terrible logic of this position, and that will be found in the hope that public opinion in England is not opposed to negro slavery, or, if so opposed, that public opinion is powerless to carry its measures against long-established interests. The extraordinary courage with which England, animated by a great national sentiment, has more than once faced the world, leaves no hope in this direction. When once the public conscience is thoroughly convinced of the fact, that England, by receiving slave-grown products, knowing them to be slave-grown, not only makes herself deliberately an accessory after the fact, but, by offering the highest prices, and no questions asked, for slave-grown products, is in truth and reality the main supporter of Slavery, and the prime stimulator of the slave-trade, woe be to those whose industrial or commercial interests rest upon slave-grown products."

#### THE WEST-INDIA LABOUR QUESTION.

WE have received the subjoined communication, since the publication of the pamphlet on the *West-India Labour Question*. It confirms the information we have obtained from other quarters.

Fourpaths P. O., Clarendon, Jamaica.  
May 5, 1858.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Your circular on the Immigration and Labour Question has duly reached me, and should have been answered earlier, but I hoped to supply you with some information which would have had an important bearing on the general question. I have, however, been disappointed, and therefore write at once, though not so fully as I expected to have done.

"With regard to immigration generally, I can conceive of no objection to it, provided it be of the right kind, and conducted on equitable principles. Our colony is capable of comfortably supporting a population twice or three times as large as its present number, and I believe it would be for the good of the community if we had more people. But the mistake has been in the class of immigrants brought here, and the injustice of it, in taxing a whole community for a particular class, and making the labourer pay, to bring in foreigners to compete with himself. In every instance in which it has been tried—and we have had Irish, German, Portuguese, African, Coolie, and Chinese—it has been worse than a failure; an unmitigated evil to the immigrants, highly injurious to the moral and spiritual interests of our peasantry, a heavy tax upon all classes of the community, and a signal failure with the particular class for whose benefit the various schemes have been tried.

"With regard to your questions, however, allow me to observe—

"1. There is no doubt that more labourers could be employed than are actually engaged; as is generally the case in a thinly populated country, and where the people themselves, and, indeed, all classes of the community, are so dependent upon the produce of the peasant's ground.

I do not think that the planters experience more inconvenience than other classes of society, except at certain seasons, such as planting and crop time, when they require extra hands: and should there, even then, be a deficiency of labourers, the cry is long and loud. And, it should be kept in mind, that these seasons are specially valuable to the small settlers too.

"At other seasons of the year there is more available labour than can be employed on the estates: and in this opinion I am confirmed by the testimony of some experienced planters.

"2. On some estates the labourers are fairly remunerated for their services, and their wages are punctually and regularly paid. On such estates there are very few complaints, if any, about the scarcity of labourers. On other properties a different policy is adopted: disputes about money constantly occur; the labourers are brought before the magistrates for 'breach of contract,' which being proved, they are sent to



the common jail for thirty days. On such estates you cannot wonder if there is a deficiency of labour; and I have been repeatedly told by some of my own people, 'It is better for us to cultivate our own grounds, and to sell the produce, than to work on estates, and if we are sick but for one day, and cannot send to inform the overseer, we are punished for breach of contract.'

"3. I cannot tell you the exact number of immigrants who have been introduced into our colony since emancipation, as the necessary documents are not accessible. Officials are not ready to furnish us with such information.

"4. Some of the Coolies have returned to India, but I am not aware if immigrants from other countries have returned in any considerable number to their native land.

"5. As I have no statistics on the subject, I cannot say how many have died in the colony, or what number is still here. The great majority have died, and vast numbers of them very soon after their arrival. A native once said to me, 'The Coolies, dem only good to manure the soil'—meaning, by their dead bodies; 'but for work, dem no able for match we.' Many are still to be found in various parts of the island.

"6. I cannot speak positively about the price of immigrant labour, but think it has always been more expensive than native labour; that as much per diem has been given to the immigrants, besides other expenses connected with their location on the estates.

"7. Here, again, the want of statistics prevents my giving a definite reply; but I should think that Asiatic and African immigrants, including return passage, cannot cost less than 30l. per head.

"8. The great majority of immigrants have been employed on different estates. But in very few cases have the immigrants been satisfied, or their employers cared to retain them; so that they have generally left the estates and become beggars, wandering about the country; or, in some cases, may have engaged themselves to private individuals, or become pedlars, as very many of the Coolies are at the present time.

"9. Just in proportion as immigration has answered the end contemplated, it has of necessity supplanted native labour; but there is scarcely a planter to be found who does not admit that the native labourer is superior to the immigrant, though the immigrant is more like an apprentice or a serf than the Creole. The introduction of foreign labourers has always been viewed with jealousy by the natives, and tended to create disaffection amongst them.

"The morals of the peasantry have been principally corrupted by the importation of Africans. With the Asiatics our people have very little intercourse, and their superstitious practices are not such as are likely to be imitated; but with

the African they have a sympathy, and feel they are connected. His superstitions are what they themselves or their fathers formerly practised, and they are the more readily led to imitate him. Hence the revival of Obeahism, and its kindred evils, in consequence of the introduction into our midst of liberated Africans.

"I beg also to inclose the copy of a Memorial to Her Gracious Majesty the Queen, against the Immigration Act, which His Excellency the Governor of Jamaica has promised to forward for presentation. T. W. C.

#### OUR ANNUAL MEETING.

WE beg to inform our friends that the Annual Report of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and a full account of the proceedings at the Society's Annual Meeting, held at Freemasons' Hall, on the 29th of May last, is issued as a Supplement to the present number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and may be had on application to the Secretary, at No. 27, New Broad Street, E. C., London. To non-subscribers the price will be sixpence, which may be paid in postage stamps.

#### PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW.

WE are prevented by press of matter from recording *in extenso*, in our present issue, the interesting discussions, which have taken place in both Houses of Parliament since our last, on the Slave-trade, the French Immigration Scheme, our relations with the United States, and the Coolie-traffic. Most of our readers, however, will have already become acquainted with the facts through the medium of the daily press. We will, therefore, confine ourselves, at present, to a brief review of those proceedings, which are calculated to render great service to the anti-Slavery cause.

The debates on our relations with America have strikingly exhibited the mischievous tendency of the cruiser system. The vexed question of the right of search or visit, has again nearly embroiled us with a nation to which we are bound by ties of blood, and a rupture with which would involve both in one common disaster. That we have acted wrongly seems to be beyond doubt, but we regret to see the acrimonious spirit which anti-Slavery men in Congress have manifested in discussing the points at issue. It is satisfactory, however, to find that the excitement has subsided on the other side, so that there is no fear whatever of any interruption of our relations with our trans-Atlantic brethren. The fact which stands most prominently out is, that we have been thus

embroiled in consequence of our pursuing a system to coerce Spain to fulfil her treaties, which cannot boast of success to recommend it. We trust—nay, we know—that these discussions will prove instrumental in inducing all thinking men to investigate more closely the evidence on which the cruiser-system is attempted to be justified, and in directing the attention of both Houses to a consideration of the means to be adopted to compel Spain to suppress the traffic in slaves.

We were glad to find that, being interrogated by Viscount Goderich, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies denied, in emphatic language, that Great Britain had made any concession to France in the matter of her new immigration scheme. Mr. Mason, United States Minister in France, was reported to have said that the British Government had agreed not to object to the French scheme, whilst Coolies were being imported from China and India into the British Colonies. Mr. Fitzgerald's denial of the fact was unqualified.

The Bishop of Oxford's motion for papers relating to the Coolie-traffic promises to be productive of considerable good; but the returns will not be complete, nor enable any one to form a just idea of the nature of the system of immigration without corresponding returns from the colonies to which the immigrants have been conveyed, shewing the difference between the numbers landed and those shipped, the mortality in the colony, and the numbers which have returned to their own country, how many remain, and how they are employed. The Bishop and Lord Brougham appear to be favourable to emigration to our colonies, but opposed to the employment of British vessels in the conveyance of Chinese and Indians to the slave colonies. The truth is, that in the absence of any thing like reliable data, and only *ex parte* evidence being accessible to them, these champions of the negro are scarcely in a position to form an accurate judgment on this important question. There is, however, no doubt, that were all the facts known, immigration to our colonies, as at present conducted, would be found to present features scarcely less objectionable than that to foreign colonies.

The French immigration scheme has received another blow in the exposure which has taken place of the affair of the *Regina Cæli*. In this case, the "free immigrants," some four or five hundred, rose upon the crew, put eleven to death, and made for the offing. The *African Steam Navigation Company's* steamer, the *Ethiophe*, recovered the French vessel, when two hundred and fifty of the negroes swam ashore, and were butchered by the captain of the *Regina Cæli* and the natives. The "free immigrants" had manacles and irons on their feet and hands,

and the vessel was completely equipped for the slave-trade. She came from Nantes, once the head-quarters of the French slave-dealers. There is now no denying that this "free immigration" has all the features of a regular slave-trade. The Earl of Malmsbury has condemned it accordingly, in the severest terms. A French explanation of the transaction has been given to the House of Lords, by the Foreign Minister, but it contains statements so extraordinary, and so damaging to the Liberian authorities, that we are disposed to regard it with extreme suspicion. Lord Brougham has kept the Government well up to the mark on this matter, and no language can be stronger than that in which the scheme has been condemned by the leading members of the Upper House. The least satisfactory feature in the affair is the reserve of the Earl of Malmsbury, who declines to furnish a copy of the correspondence which has taken place in relation to it between the two Governments. It has been stated that they have agreed to send an agent on the part of each, to make inquiries on the spot. Such a course would lead to no result, and cause the loss of much valuable time. The whole project is radically bad, and should be at once arrested.

#### THE HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

Most of our readers will probably have read the paragraph in the daily press which recently announced the departure of the Hon. Charles Sumner from the United States, for the purpose of travelling again in Europe. We believe he is at present in France. Previously to leaving his constituents he addressed them the following letter;

*"To the people of Massachusetts."*

"Two years have now passed since, while in the enjoyment of perfect health, I was suddenly made an invalid. Throughout this protracted period, amidst various vicissitudes of debility, I seemed to be slowly regaining the health that had been taken from me, until I was encouraged to believe myself on the verge of perfect recovery.

"But injuries so great as those originally received by me are not readily repaired, and a recent relapse painfully admonishes me that, although enjoying many of the conditions of a prosperous convalescence, I am not yet beyond the necessity of caution. This has been confirmed by the physicians in Boston and Philadelphia most familiar with my case, who, in concurrence with my counsels previously given by medical authorities in Europe, have enjoined travel as best calculated to promote my restoration. Anxious to spare no effort for this end, so long deferred, I to-day sail for France.

"To the generous people of Massachusetts, who have honoured me with an important trust, and cheered me by so much sympathy, I wish to express the thanks which now palpitate in my



bosom, while I say to them all collectively, as I would say to a friend, Farewell.

"But these valedictory words would be imperfect, if I did not seize this occasion to declare what I have often said less publicly, that, had I originally seen the duration of my disability, I should at once have resigned my seat in the Senate, making way for a servant more fortunate than myself in the precious advantages of health. I did not do so, because, like other invalids, I lived in the belief that I was soon to be well, and was reluctant to renounce the opportunity of again exposing the hideous barbarism of Slavery, now more than ever transfused into the National Government, infecting its whole policy, and degrading its whole character. Besides, I was often encouraged to feel that to every sincere lover of civilization, my vacant chair was a perpetual speech.

"CHARLES SUMNER.

"On board the Steamer, Vanderbilt,

"New York Harbour, May 22, 1858."

#### AMERICAN ABOLITION MOVEMENTS.

On Tuesday and Wednesday, May the 11th and 12th ult., the *American Anti-Slavery Society* held its twenty-fifth Anniversary Meeting, at Mozart Hall, New York, under the presidency of William Lloyd Garrison. The attendance was large, and speeches were delivered by the principal members of the Society, introducing appropriate resolutions. We have not yet received a full report of the proceedings.

On Wednesday, May the 26th, the *New England Anti-Slavery Convention* held a crowded meeting at the Mercantile Hall, Boston, under the presidency of Francis Jackson, President of the *Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society*. The speeches were deeply interesting, but our space will not allow of our introducing a summary. The following incidental address, however, by Mr. Lloyd Garrison, is so powerful, and breathes so pure a spirit, that we cannot refrain from reproducing it:

"MR. GARRISON—I do not rise to give 'railing for railing.' I have been deeply interested in this discussion, and before we part I feel that I would like to throw myself on your indulgence for a few moments.

"I cannot take so sombre a view, as I think it is, of the condition of the anti-Slavery cause in New England and the North as my friend Mr. Foster has taken on this occasion; yet, if power be going out of us—if we are less energetic than formerly—if we do not increase as we should in numbers and strength—if, on the whole, we seem to be standing still, rather than going forward—I am inclined to think that there are two reasons for it—to my mind, potent reasons.

"When the anti-Slavery cause was launched, it was baptized in the spirit of peace. We proclaimed to the country and the world that the weapons of our warfare were not carnal, but spiritual, and we believed them to be mighty through God to the pulling down even of the stronghold of Slavery; and for several years great moral power accompanied our cause wherever presented. Alas!

in the course of the fearful developments of the Slave Power, and its continued aggressions on the rights of the people of the North, in my judgment a sad change has come over the spirit of anti-Slavery men, generally speaking. We are growing more and more warlike, more and more disposed to repudiate the principles of peace, more disposed to talk about 'finding a joint in the neck of the tyrant,' and breaking that neck, 'cleaving tyrants down from the crown to the groin,' with the sword which is carnal, and so inflaming one another with the spirit of violence, and for a bloody work. Just in proportion as this spirit prevails, I feel that our moral power is departing, and will depart. I say this not so much as an Abolitionist as a man. I believe in the spirit of peace, and in sole and absolute reliance on truth, and the application of it to the hearts and consciences of the people. I do not believe that the weapons of liberty ever have been, or ever can be, the weapons of despotism. I know that those of despotism are the sword, the revolver, the cannon, the bomb-shell; and, therefore, the weapons to which tyrants cling, and upon which they depend, are not the weapons for me, as a friend of liberty. I will not trust the war-spirit anywhere in the universe of God, because the experience of six thousand years proves it not to be at all reliable in such a struggle as ours. In proportion as we allow the spirit of violence or retaliation to take possession of our minds, and make ourselves familiar with the idea of killing slaveholders and tyrants, I apprehend the Divine Spirit will go out of us, and we shall not have that power over men's minds that we should have if animated by a different spirit.

"So much for the principle of peace and the principle of war. I am for going on as we have hitherto done—proclaiming the truth, applying the truth, relying upon the truth, conquering by the truth, and not attempting to use the sword.

"I think we are more and more disposed to run into politics; so that if we have gone back, or are standing still, as my friend Mr. Foster seems inclined to believe, I think he has a good deal to answer for on that ground, for he is for setting aside our old method, and considers our work now to be the organization of a new political party, as our great instrumentality for abolishing Slavery. Now, I feel sure, that just so far as this mania for politics shall grow upon us, we shall be less and less potent in the moral field. Our work is with the conscience; and the only weapon that God puts into our hands, rightfully to use, is His truth, which does not kill the body, but which is enough to overthrow the strongholds of iniquity, and ultimately to emancipate every slave in the land.

"I pray you, Abolitionists, still to adhere to that truth. Do not get impatient; do not become exasperated; do not attempt any new political organization; do not make yourselves familiar with the idea that blood must flow. Perhaps blood will flow—God knows, I do not; but it shall not flow through any counsel of mine. Much as I detest the oppression exercised by the Southern slaveholder, he is a man sacred before me. He is a man not to be harmed by my hand, nor with my consent; he is a man who is grievously and wickedly trampling upon the rights of his fellow-man; but, all I have to

do with him is to rebuke his sin, to call him to repentance, to leave him without excuse for his tyranny. He is a sinner before God—a great sinner; yet, while I will not cease reprobating his horrible injustice, I will let him see that in my heart there is no desire to do him harm—that I wish to bless him here, and bless him everlastingly—and that I have no other weapon to wield against him but the simple truth of God, which is the great instrument for the overthrow of all iniquity, and the salvation of the world."

### BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

#### LEEDS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE fifth Annual Meeting of the *Leeds Anti-Slavery Association* was held in the Town Mission Room, Park-row, on Friday evening, the 14th May ult.; Hamilton Richardson, Esq., in the chair. Mr. Richardson said he had great pleasure in taking the chair, and was always glad to have an opportunity of assisting the *Leeds Anti-Slavery Association*. The duties of the evening were light. In holding their Annual Meeting, it was intended to make it for the most part a matter of business, and as other gentlemen would follow who might have interesting matter to state, he would not occupy time further than by saying that the subject of Slavery was one of paramount importance—its abolition in every part of the world was highly important, but pre-eminently so in America. He was glad the subject in that country was assuming its true position, both as regards its political and its religious bearings. The whole community were becoming impressed with the evils of the system. There was no shirking the question any longer. Political parties and religious bodies, as well as individuals, must now decide either for or against Slavery. The hitherto neutral and indifferent must now take sides—in the ranks of freedom, or with its foes. Hence it became the duty of all friends of humanity to assist and encourage the Abolitionists of America. Help now was doubly valuable; affairs were coming to a crisis; it might be the turning-point of the struggle; and he trusted the tried friends of the oppressed in Leeds would continue their praiseworthy efforts. He was happy to say he had been a member of the Association from its commencement, and was ready at all times to take part in its proceedings. Without trespassing longer on their time and attention, he would at once call on the Secretary, Mr. Wilson Armistead, to read the Report.—The Secretary then read the Report and Treasurer's Account:

"After alluding to the continued smallness of the efforts of the Association in proportion to the magnitude and importance of the anti-Slavery enterprise, which involves the interests of several millions of our fellow-creatures, the Report speaks of the past twelve months as one of progress to the cause, though not unaccompanied with its

discouraging points. Amongst these are mentioned the opening of the slave-trade by France almost immediately after the Protestants of that country had signed a protest against Slavery, to which upwards of 5400 signatures were attached. To this the attention of the Committee was early directed, which resulted in a union with the other British Anti-Slavery Societies in a deputation to Lord Clarendon, who assured them of his cordial sympathy. The French Government are, however, bent upon carrying out their designs, and the results are, as anticipated, of the most appalling nature. The course of peaceful commerce and agriculture, and the civilization so rapidly spreading along the western shores of Africa, have been materially impeded, and the slave-trade has shewn itself to be as great an outrage on human nature as ever. Amongst the encouraging signs of the times are mentioned the removal of Judge Loring from office by the Legislature of Massachusetts, for returning a fugitive slave, the probable admission of Kansas as a Free State of the American Union, and some emancipation movements in the Dutch colonies. Also the cheering ray of hope which has unexpectedly burst forth in another part of the world, and it is suggested that our brethren of the liberty-boasting West may learn a lesson from the 'Autocrat of all the Russias,' who has decreed that the domestic Slavery, which has been so long one of their most cherished institutions, shall no longer disgrace his dominions. After mentioning the steadfastness of the old and ever active anti-Slavery veterans of America, the Report alludes with rejoicing to the fact, that some leaders of the evangelical denominations, who have not hitherto taken a decided part in opposing Slavery, are now uttering a more sure and certain sound. It was a thorough conviction of the religious bodies being the upholders of Slavery, that induced the Committee to present an Address to the last Wesleyan Conference, who were expecting to receive two delegates from a slaveholding church in America. In that Address they earnestly entreated the conference to bear an open and indubitable testimony against the system which their great and good founder pithily described as 'the sum of all villainies.' The Association have distributed several thousand tracts during the twelve months, and printed upwards of one thousand *Anti-Slavery Pilots*, which have been posted to every quarter of the globe. Several books have been added to their library, chiefly American publications, some of them of great interest. After alluding to an interesting interview the Vice-President and Secretary had with the Hon. Charles Sumner, the eloquent and fearless advocate of freedom, when he passed this way on his return to America, to resume his seat in the Senate, the Report mentions the forwarding of a box of articles, as usual, for the Boston bazaar, which, with other contributions from other places, realized about 4000 dollars. This is above the average amount raised, and, taking into account the fearful financial crisis and general impending pressure, must be regarded as indicative of an improved public opinion. Such, it appears, is the conviction of the Bazaar Committee of Management, and it is therefore decided to discontinue the bazaar, and collect funds instead,



for replenishing the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to which the friends of the cause are desired liberally to respond, not forgetting that the appeal is made by those who are themselves giving most largely their time, their talents, and their money, in behalf of the most philanthropic enterprise of the age. The Report concludes by enforcing, as a primary duty, the aiding of the faithful few across the Atlantic, who, in spite of obstacles and obloquy, maintain their standard on the side of the weak, who plead for the immediate and unconditional emancipation of the slave, demanding, in season and out of season, that the system by which he is bound, so degrading to man and dishonouring to God, shall be instantly and for ever abolished.

The Chairman then moved the adoption, printing, and circulation of the Report, which was seconded by the Rev. C. Bailhache, who remarked, that whatever our differences of opinion might be on other matters, we must all be agreed on the subject of Slavery. He was glad that such an organization as the *Leeds Anti-Slavery Association* existed, for organizations of this kind were the means of acting upon the public mind, and without them little could be effected. On the motion of Mr. Slade, seconded by Mr. Bilbrough, a Committee for the ensuing year was appointed. The Vice-President, Jos. Lupton, Esq., in proposing a vote of thanks to the chairman, called the attention of members of the Association to the papers circulated amongst them, especially the *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, and also to the interesting and valuable books contained in their library. Wm. Scholefield, Esq., seconded the vote of thanks to the chairman, which being unanimously passed, the Meeting separated.—*(From the Leeds Mercury.)*

### Advertisements.

#### BOSTON ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

THOSE friends of the slave who have been accustomed to contribute to this Bazaar will have learned that it is not to be held this year, but that an attempt is to be made to raise money by direct subscriptions in cash. The following circular, issued by the Committee of Ladies, who have so successfully conducted the bazaar for twenty-four years, will explain their reasons for desiring a change in the mode of raising funds for the *American Anti-Slavery Society*; and if each would contribute in money what they used to expend in materials for their work, and try to raise a little more among their friends, there is no doubt but a respectable sum might be obtained. The same parties who have hitherto forwarded contributions to the *Boston Bazaar* will be glad to receive, and remit to Boston, subscriptions or donations in money. For those who still prefer aiding

the anti-Slavery cause by the work of their hands, there is a good outlet for their gifts, as they will see by the Appeal from the Committee of the *Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Bazaar Committee*:

#### TO THE FRIENDS OF THE SLAVE IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

DEAR FRIENDS—Your devoted interest and constant attention to the anti-Slavery cause in America have made you aware that our friends in Boston have decided to adopt other plans of raising money than as heretofore by their Annual Bazaar.

Under these circumstances, we do not hesitate to ask for our Bazaar in Philadelphia some of that aid you have so long generously given to Boston.

While those who contribute directly in money will continue their gifts through the same channel as heretofore, we know there are many among you whose donations would be made more valuable by the time and labour you would gladly bestow upon them. To those friends of the slave we would say, that for *twenty-two years* there has been held in Philadelphia an annual fair, of the same character as the Boston Bazaar, the proceeds of which have been devoted to the same end—the emancipation of every slave in the United States, by seeking to enlighten this guilty nation respecting the wrongs which it inflicts by law upon one seventh of its population, and calling upon every one in the land to cease from this great iniquity.

Donations will be gratefully received, and the proceeds faithfully appropriated to the Pennsylvania and American Anti-Slavery Societies.

On behalf of the Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair:

SARAH PUGH.  
LUCRETIA MOTT.  
MARY GREW.  
HARRIET D. PURVIS.

Philadelphia, May 1858.

P.S.—Goods may be sent by Cope, Brothers' line of packet-ships, from Liverpool, on the 12th of October, directed to JAMES MILLER M'KIM, 107 North-fifth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, North America.

#### ROCHESTER

#### ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

THE Committee of the *Ladies' Irish Anti-Slavery Association* has decided to hold a Bazaar in Dublin next November, to aid the funds of the *Rochester Anti-Slavery Society*. The very heavy duties latterly exacted, and other annoyances, resulting from the Custom-house examination of the bazaar boxes forwarded to America, induced the Committee to propose this plan for the coming year, trusting it would meet the general approval of contributors.

The Committee invites the co-operation of ladies everywhere, who, disposed to aid the fugitive from bondage, can employ their leisure hours for the next few months in

creating such works of taste and utility as are likely to attract purchasers at the Dublin Bazaar. Arrangements have already been made to form an efficient Bazaar Committee, so that all proper adjuncts for promoting success, under careful, steady management, are likely to be secured. Such Anti-Slavery Societies in the British Islands as may decide on sending contributions, are requested to have all their articles marked with their own printed ticket. If this be carried out, it is intended that every Society's collection shall have a distinct place assigned it, with the name of the contributing Society prominently displayed. When thus kept separate, the amount realized by the sales of each can be duly specified.

Many to whom this circular is addressed understand much of the awful reality of American Slavery; their anti-Slavery efforts have assured us they do not forget "them that are in bonds." Philanthropists who can realize the true character of such bonds as shackle the moral and spiritual, as well as the corporeal existence of the southern slave, will rejoice to aid the heroic adventurers who are flying for life and liberty to a region protected by the British Lion. But we would remind all, that to enable them to gain that region, hearts and hands must open to assist them, when at last they have reached the margin of the great lake-chain, ere they can cross that formidable boundary between the lands of Slavery and of freedom. In addition to food and shelter, which the fugitive requires at Rochester, as elsewhere on his perilous route, three dollars passage money must be promptly paid before he can embark on the waters of Ontario. He must also, if practicable, be furnished with the means of pursuing his journey on the Canadian side to one of the negro settlements, where he will be encouraged to commence labour as a freeman; and where, without fear of whip or imprisonment, he can learn to read the Word of God, and listen to the preaching of the Gospel.

In a letter from Frederick Douglass, dated January 8th, 1858, he says:

"You will be glad to know that the number escaping from Slavery has latterly been unusually large. We have passed over our section of the underground railroad about forty within the last sixty days. Of these, one coloured woman, who escaped from Slavery eight years ago, has made several returns at great risks, and has brought out, since obtaining her own freedom, fifty others from the house of bondage. She has been spending a short time with us since the holidays. She possesses great courage and shrewdness, and may yet render even more important services to this cause."

The proceeds of the Bazaar, after paying attendant expenses, to be forwarded to Rochester for the assistance of fugitives, and the diffusion of information tending to enlighten the free people of colour, and promote the abolition of American Slavery, by keeping the public mind directed to its enormities.

The Committee appoints the following ladies to take charge of such Irish contributions as come in between this time and the first of November:

<i>Dublin</i> .....	Mrs. Cotter, Bushey Park, Rath-farnham,
"	Mrs. Ryan, 4, Waterloo-terrace,
"	Mrs. Studdart, Rathgar Man-sion,
"	Miss Fleury, 24, Upper Leeson-street,
"	Miss Tuthill, 12, Waterloo-road,
"	Miss Urwick, 40, Rathmines-rd.
<i>Augher</i> .....	Mrs. Maxwell, Killafaddy,
<i>Belfast</i> .....	Miss Hincks, Murray-terrace,
<i>Cork</i> .....	The Misses Jennings, Patrick-st.
<i>Clonmel</i> .....	The Misses A. D. and H. Evans, Prior Park,
<i>Donegal Co.</i> ...	Mrs. Young, Cudaff House, Carndonagh,
<i>Mayo Co.</i> .....	Mrs. Atkinson, Ballylahan,
<i>Thurles</i> .....	Mrs. Langley, Coalbrook, New Birmingham,
<i>Tipperary Co.</i>	Mrs. C. J. Tuthill,
<i>Waterford</i> .....	Mrs. Peet, Rockvilla.

Bazaar boxes from England and Scotland are to be sent to the care of Mrs. William Webb, 52, High-street, Dublin, who should be informed by post of their despatch.

<i>Aberdeen</i> .....	Mr. G. H. Boyd, 15, Silver-st.,
"	Mrs. Brown, 156, Crown-street,
<i>Birmingham</i> ...	Mrs. Goodrick, 11, George-street, Edgbaston,
"	Mrs. W. Middlemore, Evethan-road,
<i>Bridge of Allen</i>	Mrs. Blair, Viewfield,
<i>Bristol</i> .....	Mrs. Fox, 13, Catham, New-rd.,
<i>Chelmsford</i> ...	Mrs. Johns, Goldlay House,
<i>Coventry</i> .....	Miss Cash, Sherbourne House,
<i>Derby</i> .....	Mrs. Emma Steer,
"	Miss Hutton,
<i>Edinburgh</i> .....	Mrs. Horsbury, 18, Buccleugh-place,
"	Mrs. Renton, 22, Buccleugh-pl.,
<i>Glasgow</i> .....	Miss Smith, 62, Kelvingrove-pl.,
<i>Leeds</i> .....	Mrs. Harvey, Springfield-place,
"	Mrs. Tryed, 14, Briggate,
"	Miss C. Holland, 79, Fenton-st.,
<i>Liverpool</i> .....	Mrs. Robberds, Highpark-street,
"	Miss M. R. Crosfield, Rake-lane, Edge-hill,
<i>Nottingham</i> ...	Miss Woods.

Letters of inquiry or applications for circulars may be addressed to either of the Secretaries:  
Miss Fleury, 24, Upper Leeson-street, Dublin,  
Miss Urwick, 40, Rathmines-road, Dublin.